

B 1,598,701

Philol 344.5 (18)

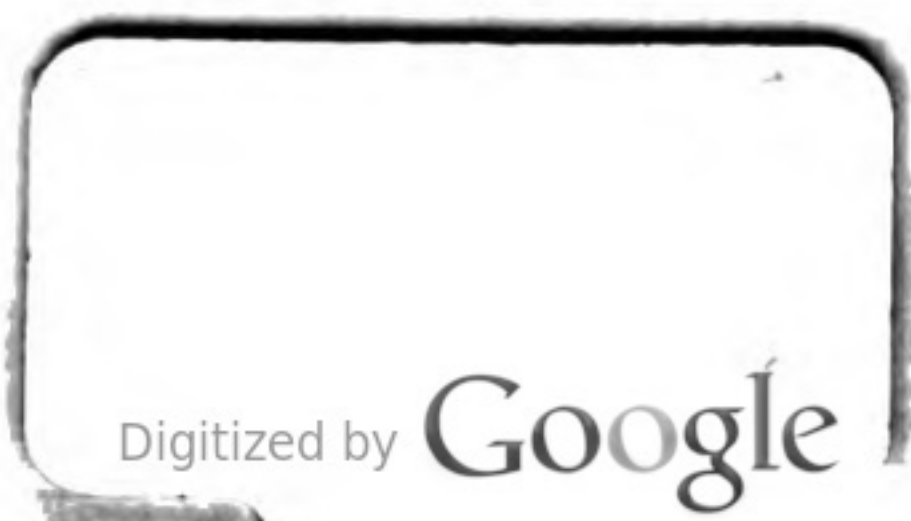


HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

Philol 344.5 (18)



HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY



Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Studies in Philology

**A Quarterly Journal Published by the
University of North Carolina**

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
EDWIN GREENLAW, *Managing Editor*,
WILLIAM M. DEY, GEORGE HOWE

VOLUME EIGHTEEN

CHAPEL HILL
1921

Philol 344.5 (18)



HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

CONTENTS

	PAGE.
Robert Withington. Post-Bellum Giants.....	1
H. Carrington Lancaster. Corneille's "Illusion Comique," Mahelot's "Mémoire," and Rampalle's "Belinde,"....	10
John Edwin Wells. The Story of Wordsworth's "Cintra,"..	15
John C. Rolfe. A Correction.....	77
Morris W. Croll. Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century..	79 ✓
Henry David Gray. Some Indications that "The Tempest" was Revised.....	129
Thornton S. Graves. Notes on Puritanism and the Stage..	141
Elbert N. S. Thompson. Mysticism in Seventeenth-Century English Literature.....	170 ✓
James Holly Hanford. Milton and the Art of War.....	232
Hyder E. Rollins. A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama.....	267
Frederick Morgan Padelford. The Virtue of Temperance in the Faerie Queene.....	334
R. G. Whigam and O. F. Emerson. Sonnet Structure in Sidney's 'Astrophel and Stella,'.....	347
James Monaghan. Falstaff and his Forebears.....	353
Recent Literature.....	362
<i>Early Tudor Poetry (Berdan); The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions (Deanesly); Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century (Taylor); Italian Social Customs in the Sixteenth Century (Crane); English Pageantry (Withington); The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (Padel- ford); English Madrigal Verse (Fellowes); Old Eng- lish Ballads (Rollins); Poetic Origins and the Ballad (Pound); La Pensée de Milton (Saurat); Blake and Milton (Saurat).</i>	
Charles H. Grandgent. Illumination.....	377
Jefferson B. Fletcher. The "Comedy of Dante,".....	392
Ernest H. Wilkins. Dante's Scheme of Human Life.....	412
John S. P. Tatlock. The Source of the Legend, and other Chauceriana	419
J. Leslie Hotson. The Tale of Melibeus and John of Gaunt,	429
W. F. Bryan. The West Saxon and Kentish First Person Singular Present Indicative Ending -e.....	453
Maximilian J. Rudwin. Bibliografia di Demonologia Dan- tesca	459

Studies in Philology

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

EDWIN GREENLAW, Managing Editor

WILLIAM M. DEY

GEORGE HOWE

CONTENTS

ROBERT WITHINGTON—Post-Bellum Giants,	-	1
H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER—Corneille's "Illu- sion Comique," Mahelot's "Mémoire," and Rampalle's "Bélinde,"	- - - - -	10
JOHN EDWIN WELLS—The Story of Wordsworth's "Cintra,"	- - - - -	15
JOHN C. ROLFE—A Correction,	- - - - -	77

Published Quarterly by

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Agent for Great Britain and the Continent:
Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4.

Yearly Subscription, \$3.00—Single Copies, \$1.00

Entered as second-class matter, February 3, 1915, at the post-office at Chapel Hill,
North Carolina, under the act of August 5, 1879.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVII, 1920

	PAGE
Charles H. Grandgent. Dante's Verse.....	1
Charles Read Baskervill. Dramatic Aspects of Medieval Folk Festivals in England.....	19
E. S. Sheldon. Romance and Romanic.....	88
Tom Peete Cross. A Welsh Tristan Episode.....	93
William M. Dey. A Note on Old French "Por-" in English	111
Oliver Towles. Forms of Asseverative and Adjurative Prepositional Phrases in Old French.....	113
Robert Withington. Scott's Contribution to Pageantic Development—A Note on the Visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822.....	121
Henry David Gray. The "Titus Andronicus" Problem..	126
Merrit Y. Hughes. Spenser and Utopia.....	132
Allan H. Gilbert. Milton and the Mysteries.....	147
Thornton S. Graves. Notes on the Elizabethan Theatres..	170
Raymond Macdonald Alden. The Lyrical Conceits of the "Metaphysical Poets".....	183
Hyder E. Rollins. William Elderton: Elizabethan Actor and Ballad-Writer.....	199
Recent Literature.....	246
Alwin Thaler. Milton in the Theatre.....	269
James Holly Hanford. The Date of Milton's "De Doctrina Christiana"	309
Edwin Greenlaw. Spenser's Influence on "Paradise Lost"	320
G. H. Harrer and J. S. Moffatt, Jr. A Thirteenth-century Fragment of Justinian's Digest.....	361
B. L. Ullman. The Present Status of the Satura Question.	379
John C. Rolfe. Marginalia.....	402
George Howe. An Applied Literature.....	423
Edwin Greenlaw. Spenser and Lucretius.....	439

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

Among the essays that will appear in *Studies in Philology* in 1921 are the following:

- Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century. By Professor Morris W. Croll, of Princeton University.
- Wily Beguiled. By Professor Baldwin Maxwell, of the Rice Institute.
- A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama. By Professor Hyder E. Rollins, of New York University.
- The Source of the *Legend of Good Women*. By Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, of Leland Stanford Junior University.
- Mysticism in Seventeenth Century English Literature. By Professor E. N. S. Thompson, of the University of Iowa.
- Notes on Puritanism and the Stage. By Professor Thornton S. Graves, of Trinity College.
- Some Indications that 'The Tempest' was Revised. By Professor H. D. Gray, of Leland Stanford Junior University.
- Milton and the Art of War. By Professor James Holly Hanford, of the University of North Carolina.
-

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Contributors who desire off-prints of their articles should order them directly from the J. H. Furst Company, 23 South Hanover Street, Baltimore, since we cannot for the present supply off-prints free. The scale of prices is as follows:

For 40 copies—From 1 to 16 pp., with cover,	\$11.00
without cover,	6.50
For 40 copies—From 17 to 32 pp., with cover,	12.50
without cover,	7.50
For 40 copies—From 33 to 48 pp., with cover,	15.00
without cover,	10.50

Ten copies of the complete issue will be supplied without charge to authors of articles appearing in it. The cost of author's corrections in the proof must be borne by the contributor.

The general plan of the four issues of *Studies in Philology* is as follows:

January—Comparative literature, chiefly English and modern language and literature.

April—Elizabethan Studies. The sixth series will appear in April, 1921, and will be a volume of about 150 pages, with the usual bibliography of recent literature.

July—English, all fields.

October—Comparative literature, chiefly English and the classics.

This plan, which has been established for several years, makes of *Studies in Philology* a journal of comparative literature in which a reasonable amount of organization is attained. Preference is given to essays of some length; notes or collections of *varia* are ordinarily not included. Strictly technical articles of limited appeal are also avoided so far as possible. The object of the journal is to further in every possible way the conception of the higher study of philology and literature expressed in the following comment on a recent issue: "A scholarship founded on exact and searching investigation, which none the less regards the investigation as a means and not an end."

Beginning with the current issue, the contents of *Studies in Philology* will be indexed in the Readers' Guide Supplement, published by the H. W. Wilson Company, of New York.

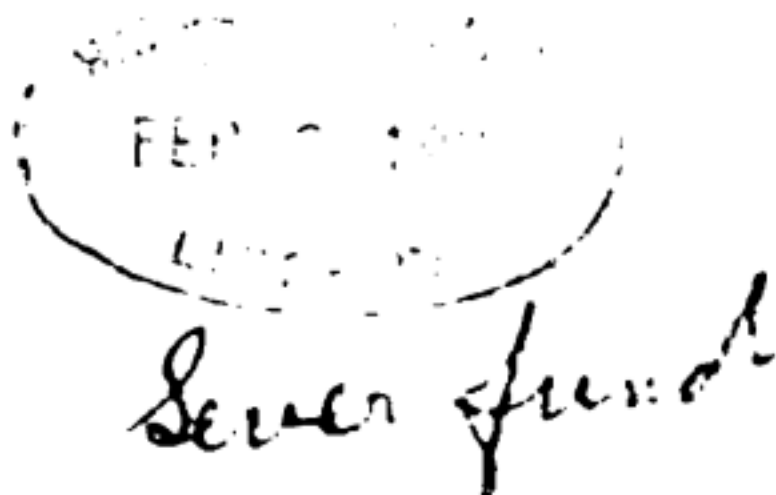
Our readers will note that the Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London E. C. 4, has been appointed to act as agent for *Studies in Philology* for Great Britain and the Continent.



SAINT CHRISTOPHER AND MR. STEVENS

SALISBURY PEACE CELEBRATIONS

JULY 28, 1919



Studies in Philology

Volume XVIII

January, 1921

Number 1

POST-BELLUM GIANTS

BY ROBERT WITHINGTON

In the observations concerning the Giant, printed in the first volume of *English Pageantry* [1918], I referred to the civic giants of Belgium and the North of France, with the remark that it was impossible to say how many of them would survive the war, which was then in progress.¹ I also recorded the last public appearance of the Salisbury St. Christopher as 1911, when he took part in the local celebration of the coronation of George V,² and quoted the wish of Mr. Frank Stevens, the Curator of the Salisbury, South Wilts, and Blackmore Museum, that "the giant may never again appear in public; he gets a rough time, and the men who carry him usually become very unsteady towards the end of the procession. . . ." The purpose of this paper is to supplement the above information with some facts from subsequent history, showing that both at Salisbury and in Belgium the giants are still very much "alive."

Despite Mr. Stevens's hope, St. Christopher appeared in 1919, on the occasion of a "Peace Pageant" at Salisbury, of which Mr. Stevens was the Master.³ The scenes presented in the Victoria Park were preceded by a street-procession; in this way the older and newer forms of pageantry were combined. The "prologue

¹ *English Pageantry*, I, p. 55, n. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56, n. 3.

³ See *Salisbury Through the Ages*, the program of the Children's Pageant at Salisbury (Salisbury [1919]), which may be found in the Harvard University Library. This pamphlet is illustrated. The pageant it describes took place on 28 July, 1919.

car" contained Fame, Time, the Five Black Sisters—representing the five years of war—and the White Sisters of Peace. The procession included the Tailors' Revel; and the frolicking of the Dragon, or Hob-Nob, provided great amusement to the crowd. "Father Time himself forgot his years and chuckled when 'The Tailors' Revel' (Bishop's School) appeared, and it was only in keeping that the Giant, regardless of his bulk, jigged discreetly to the enlivening pipes and tabors. A pure frolic—excepting only the Master and members of one of the most important City Guilds, who preserved a becoming gravity—was the task of this important group, and their success may be judged by the echoing laughter of the spectators. The period represented was the same as in the preceding group [Elizabeth of York at Salisbury, A. D. 1496]. For the visit of Henry VII the citizens organized festivities, and included in their pageant the Giant representing St. Christopher, a figure which has since accompanied notable merry-making in the City. With the Giant goes the Dragon, or Hob-Nob, a great mirth-provider, when animated, as on this occasion, by a sprightly performer, who, no respecter of persons, chased without discrimination a group of care-free 'prentices and girls of the period, or snapped its cavernous jaws at the august Chief Magistrate, Father Time, or every-day citizen. Following or leading the frolicsome group as occasion demanded, were the Master and Members of the Merchant Tailors' Guild, clad in their scarlet robes, as when Henry came to the City; the pipes and tabors; old-time beadle and lantern-bearer; coming after the Giant were merchants' wives, and, to complete the picture, a few beggars. Meanwhile the girls danced prettily. The representation of the period was complete in picturesque costume and rollicking spirit, and bore with it music of the period: Henry's favorite tune, 'The Dargasson,' and Sellinger's Round. The leader, a merchant of the time, explained its purport in good Wessex accent, and won the approval of Fame and Time." ⁴ It is worthy of note that the figure characterized by Fairholt in 1859 as "the last of the old perambulating English giants," ⁵ is

⁴ *Salisbury Through the Ages*, p. 31. The procession through the streets, including St. Christopher, is illustrated in this pamphlet, *ibid.* (A May-Day festival, *temp.* Henry VIII, followed, with Robin Hood, Maid Marian, Little John, Alan-a-Dale, a Jack-in-the-Green, Morris dancers and a May Queen.)

⁵ *Gog and Magog*, p. 62. See *Eng. Pag.*, I, p. 56, n. 3.

not obsolete. That the city of Salisbury is peculiarly susceptible to pageantry, may be shown by the fact that as lately as 1850 there was a "Pope-burning" there, long after such pageantry had disappeared in London.*

The invasion in 1914 naturally caused a cessation of the village merry-making which had been, from time immemorial, a part of the celebration of the festival with which each Belgian parish

*This took place on 22 November, 1850. See the *Illustrated London News* for 30 November, 1850, p. 421, for an illustrated account of this ceremony. A Pope, with Cardinals, and twelve Bishops, was burned in effigy, and the "uncouth pageant" (which was got up by private subscription) had a picturesque effect. The images were called "guys" by the people. (I am indebted to Mr. Stevens for calling this to my attention.)

An interesting analogy to this kind of thing is recorded in the following paragraph from the Boston (Massachusetts) *Transcript* of 4 September, 1920, pt. 4, p. 6, under the heading: "Governor Coolidge to be 'Bombed.' Prominent Characters Will Be Depicted by New Fireworks Process at Pageant of 'Europe in Battle and Fire.'":

"Governor Coolidge and other prominent characters of present and past history will be depicted in fire and shot high in the air in bombs as a part of the fireworks display at the pageant of 'Europe in Battle and Fire,' which is to be presented at the old Huntington avenue circus grounds, September 11 to 18. In addition to the fireworks, famous episodes will be portrayed by a cast of 500 persons, including a large ballet. . . .

"The fireworks will be an exhibition of 'floating' set pieces made possible by a new process, by which it is said that any big event can be reproduced within twenty-four hours. According to a brief description by the International Fireworks Company, bombs are shot high in the air. As they explode they display in life size or larger the figures which it is desired to represent. The names of the characters appear in letters of fire beneath them, and the whole floats slowly over the spectators. Whole scenes as well as individual characters can be shown, and it is announced that some of the more spectacular current events will be displayed by the fireworks during the week. . . . The scenes chosen represent events in Europe from the foundation of ancient Rome to modern times. One of the most startling pictures to be presented is that of the burning of Joan of Arc. It is said that the illusion in this is so complete that it appears that the girl is actually in the flames that leap about her."

While this lacks many of the essentials of a real pageant, it is interesting to compare the above with such an entertainment as that of 1606, when the Deadly Sins were burnt for the delectation of James I. (*Eng. Pag.*, I, p. 229).

For further remarks on effigy-burning, particularly the Pope-burnings at London in the seventeenth, and at Boston in the eighteenth, centuries, see *Eng. Pag.*, II, ch. VII, *passim*.

honors its patron-saint. With the return of peace, this custom has again been revived; and in the larger towns, a Giant—or a whole “family” of Giants—often accompanies the kermess procession. The giants of Malines, together with “hobby-horses” and other pageants, remained in storage throughout the war; and I saw them in their warehouse last summer [1920] awaiting their next “sortie.” Those of Hasselt and Antwerp were also ready to emerge on the annual festivals. In more than one Belgian town, the giants performed a good service for their fellow-townsmen during the Occupation, by holding hidden under their flowing garments much copper which the enemy sought; the Germans did, in fact, visit the place where the effigies were stored, and asked what they were. One can imagine the feelings of the Belgian guide, who knew what they contained, when the German authorities, on being told that the images were “only the town giants,” turned away, completely satisfied.

At Brussels, the giants appeared at the kermess on 18 July, 1920, and again in the procession which celebrated the National Holiday, on the twenty-first. Under the heading “La Kermesse de Bruxelles—La Foire du Midi,” *Le Soir* described the earlier festival:⁷

“... Bruxelles est aujourd’hui tout à la joie des anciennes traditions retrouvées. Ces bonnes et chères traditions du passé, simples, naïves, et toujours populaires.

“Parmi celles-ci, les sorties de nos Géants et de l’Ommegang sont celles qui tiennent le plus au cœur des Bruxellois, grands et petits. Et ce matin, comme à l’habitude, les grands étaient beaucoup plus nombreux à voir défiler toute la famille de ces anciens Bruxellois, dont l’origine remonte au XVIII^e siècle.

“L’homme reste toujours un grand enfant, et les choses les moins compliquées, les plus innocentes, sont souvent celles qu’il aime le mieux.

“Le Bruxellois était heureux ce matin, disons-nous, parce qu’il voyait nos couleurs nationales flotter au balcon de l’Hôtel de Ville, plus belles que jamais, au lendemain de cette Conférence de Spa, où nous dictâmes nos volontés à l’ennemi qui, pendant quatre années, nous imposa sa domination tyrannique.

“Il était heureux aussi, plus invraisemblablement, parce que Mieke et Janneke, échappant à la rage destructive et teutonne, se promenaient fiers, orgueilleux même, par les rues de Bruxelles.

“Il était heureux parce que, de toutes les rues, débouchaient les vieilles ‘chochetés’, musiques, drapeaux, étendards en tête. Et, comble de bonheur, le soleil était là!

⁷ *Le Soir* (Brussels) for 19 July, 1920, p. 2, col. 2.

"Aussi, Mieke et Janneke firent-ils une entrée triomphale sur la Grand'Place aux sons de 'Sambre-et-Meuse.' Mais ils n'étaient pas seuls. La famille s'était réunie au grand complet. Il y avait, en plus de Mieke et Janneke, leurs trois enfants terribles: Juleke, Jeanneke et Gudule. Il y avait encore Ma Tante, et Mon Oncle, Bon Papa et Bonne Maman, la Sultane et le Grand-Turc, Jean de Nivelles, avec son chien, et Madame.

"Ross Bayard et les quatre fils Aymon étaient également de la fête.

"Après avoir parcouru les vieilles rues de Flandre, Sainte-Catherine, Marché-aux-Poulets, Marché-aux-Herbes, ils débouchèrent, par la rue de la Colline, sur la Grand'Place.

"D'abord sérieux et sévères, ils perdirent bien vite leur aspect grave, et aux sons de la 'Muette de Portici' et de 'Guillaume Tell,' ils se mirent à danser, et Mieke et Janneke, perdant toute contenance, 'trapèrent' à la mode de la rue Haute.

"Seul, Ross Bayard, portant ses quatre fils Aymon, bottés et casqués, sabre au clair, resta longtemps digne, imperturbable, gardé par les 'Chinchins' à cheval. Mais lorsqu'il entendit la musique exécuter, le 'Ross Bayard,' lui aussi, gauchement, secoua sa grande masse, se dandina et dansa.

"Puis, toute la famille se rangea sur une ligne pour assister au défilé de l'Ommegang. Les 'vôotkapoenen' sortirent de dessous ces mannequins d'osier, les quatre fils Aymon descendirent de leur haute monture, et les sociétés défilèrent: sociétés de tir à l'arbalète, à la carabine, à l'arc, jeu de palet, jeu de boule, jeu de quilles, jeu de crosse, jeu de bac, et, pour terminer, l'invasion des pêcheurs à la ligne de tout cru, de tout crin.

"Toutes les musiques jouèrent en même temps: ce fut une cacophonie rare; on fit beaucoup de bruit, on vit M. Max de tout près, et après, on regagna le local de la 'chocheté,' et les concours commencèrent, arrosés de force lambica.

"Tandis qu'à la Grand'Place, M. Max passait en revue les sociétés bruxelloises, saluait nos bons géants, grands et doux, un nombreux public se rendait le long du parcours que devait suivre la procession du Saint-Sacrement.

"Par les rues couvertes de sable, émaillées de fleurs et de morceaux de papier multicolores, la procession défila. Aux fenêtres des maisons, des cierges étaient allumés, des drapeaux papaux pendaient, et la foule, respectueusement s'inclinait au passage du Saint-Sacrement.

"A midi, sur la Grand'Place, vide de toutes les sociétés bruyantes, il n'y avait plus que l'autel qui y avait été élevé, et où eut lieu la bénédiction."

Through the kindness of Monsieur l'Abbé Francis Dessain, of Malines, I have received the list of the civic giants from the archivist of that city. "The list of 'personnages' who figure in the Ommegang^a at Malines" contains the following:

^a Father Dessain notes that the Flemish word *Ommegang* is "the name given to the tail-end of the pageants, which was invariably made up of

Le géant (de reus) Anno 1492

La géante (de reusin) Anno 1549

Le vieux géant (Groot vader) Anno 1600

Les enfants:

Mieke	}	Anno 1618
Janneke		
Claeske		

Le cheval Bayard (avec les quatre fils Aymon dessus)
Anno 1415

Le navire de guerre⁹ Anno 1647

Les deux chameaux Anno 1501

La roue de fortune Anno 1615

Op-Signorke Anno 1644

It will be observed that this collection of giants and folk-animals, with an element of the romance added in the figure of Bayard and the four sons of Aymon, dates from the discovery of America to the time of Charles I, and the English Civil War. The children of the giant alone are named. The collection of giants and pageants I saw in the warehouse where they are stored between processions, when I visited Malines in the summer of 1920.

The Burgomaster of Antwerp writes that only the giant of that city "a l'honneur de porter un nom: il s'appelle Druon Antigon et a été construit en 1534 par Pieter Coecke d'Alost. Sa corpulente épouse n'a pas d'état civil. Tout ce que nous savons, c'est qu'elle a été créée vers 1764 par Daniel Herreyns."

The giant of Hasselt, which is called "the Tall (Long) Man," dates from 1549; it belonged to a *chambre de Rhétorique* known as the "Rose Rouge," which dates from the fifteenth century, and has become to-day the *société d'harmonie "la Rhétorique."* The giant appears (*sort*) every seven years, at the feast of the *septennat* (a religious feast, dedicated to the Virgin) on the first Monday after the fifteenth of August; "il va chercher la soupe aux pois qu'on distribue ce jour aux habitants de la rue de la Chapelle, où est située l'église de la Vierge."¹⁰ The figure is that of an "armed-

these 'jokes.'" How many of them (if not all) appear now, I do not know. The "jokes" seem to be the equivalent of our "antiques and horrors." It is worth noting that Bayard and the sons of Aymon appear also at Brussels.

⁹ This is probably the ship recorded in *English Pageantry*, I, p. 12, n. 3; there was a ship at Antwerp in 1803 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 254).

¹⁰ I am indebted to Mr. Gérard Wynants, of Hasselt, for the above information, as well as for the photograph of this giant.

man" or knight, seated, lance in hand. He seems to be carried through the streets, like a pageant in the older civic shows of London, rather than to progress—as do most giants—by means of a man hidden inside.

It may be noted, regarding Gayant, the giant of Douai,¹¹ that his name is merely the Picardy form of *géant*. If he commemorates a lord of the neighborhood, who lost his life in 881, when the town was besieged by the Normans, the identity of the nobleman has not been preserved in his name. I have no post-bellum news of him.

Professor John C. Hildt, of Smith College, has told me of the revival of the *Parade du Lumeçon*, or of the *Doudou*, which he witnessed at Mons on Trinity Sunday, 15 June, 1919. This included a man on horseback, representing St. George, who fought with the Dragon in the Grand'Place—the Dragon cavorting around the edges of the cleared space in the square, switching off the hats of the crowd with sweeps of its tail, to the great amusement of the onlookers. Two "hobby-horses" fought each other with bladders on this occasion: these animals bore a strong resemblance to the Salisbury Hob-Nob, and the Norwich Snap. A popular song, entitled "El Doudou," was sung by the Montois with great enthusiasm; Professor Hildt has furnished me with a copy of the words:

"EL DOUDOU

"CHANT POPULAIRE MONTOIS

"Nos irons vir l'car d'or a l'procession de Mon;
Cera l'poupée Saint-Georg' qui no suivra de long.
C'est l'Doudou, c'est l'mama, c'est l'poupée, poupée, poupée;
C'est l'Doudou, c'est l'mama, c'est l'poupée Saint-Georg' qui va.
Les Gins du rempart riront com' des Kurds de vir tant des carottes
Les gins du culots riront com des sots de vir tant des carot' a leu pots.

"El' vieill' matant' Magu'rite,
Trousse ses falbalas
Pou fair' bouilli l' marmite
Et cuir' ses biaux p'tits pois.

"Lés Dames du Chapitre
N'auront pas du gambon
Parce qu'ell' n'ont pas fait
El tour d'el procession.

¹¹ See *English Pageantry*, I, p. 55, n. 2.

“ Voici l’ dragon qui vient
 Ma mère sauvons-nous!
 Il a mordu grand’mère
 Il vous mordra itou.

“ V’là qu’el Lum’çon commence
 Au son du carillon.
 Saint-Georg’ avec sa lance
 Va combat’ el dragon.

“ Dragon, Sauvag’ et Diables
 Saint-Georg’ éié Chinchins,
 Ess’ tourpin’ dédins l’sâbe. . .
 On tir’ c’est l’grand moumint

“ V’là l’ Dragon qui trépasse,
 In v’là co pou in an
 Asteur faisons ducasse
 A tabe mes infants.”

The reader will remark that the “Chinchins” with St. George suggest the guard of Bayard and the Four Sons of Aymon at Brussels. One may hazard the guess that the word applies to the “hobby-horses” and is, perhaps, not unrelated to *chien*.¹²

Mlle. Pierron, of Smith College, whose home is in Lille, has given me the names of the Lille Giants; they have survived the war, and are now on exhibition in that city. Lyderic, Phinard, and Jeanne Maillotte are as highly regarded by their *concitoyens* as the Belgian giants are by theirs, and will presumably appear at the *fêtes* at Lille for many years to come. As the giants are not usually stored in the City Halls, it may be hoped that those of Douai and Valenciennes have survived the war, as have so many of the Belgian giants; it is interesting to note that the popular affection felt for these effigies has lost nothing of its strength.

It is evident from the above notes—rambling as they are—that the war has not killed all the folk-customs surviving in England and Belgium in 1914; that the new era which awaits the world will not be without links which bind it to the Past. In Belgium, where the folk-giants have been closely connected with religious festivals, it is, perhaps, more natural that, as times become more normal, the revival of folk-customs should occur. It is due to the

¹² “*Chinchins*” à cheval does not necessarily mean men as “chinchins” on horseback, but may refer to the figure of a horse fastened about the waists of the performers.

popular interest in pageantry, which did not wholly vanish during the war, that at Salisbury the return of peace should be celebrated in terms of the Past; and that this emphasis on the remoter history of England could serve to remind the people that, despite the changes wrought by the war, beneath an upheaval which seemed cataclysmic, English civilization still endures, and the spirit of the folk remains the same.

Smith College.

CORNEILLE'S *ILLUSION COMIQUE*, MAHELOT'S
MÉMOIRE, AND RAMPALLE'S *BÉLINDE*

BY H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Since 1878 the following list of scenery and properties from the portion of the stage-decorators' *Mémoire* written by Mahelot has been supposed to refer to the *Illusion comique*:

La Melite.

Au milieu, il faut un palais bien orné. A un costé du theatre, un antre pour un magicien au dessus d'une montaigne. De l'autre costé du theatre, un parc. Au premier acte, une nuict, une lune qui marche, des rossignols, un miroir enchanté, une baguette pour le magicien; des carquans ou menottes, des trompettes; des cornets de papier, un chapeau de cipres pour le magicien.¹

When he made out this list in 1633 or 1634, Mahelot failed to name the author of the play to which it referred. Subsequently an inaccurate scribe added in the margin the name of Corneille, evidently believing that the list had to do with his first comedy. But Émile Perrin² noted that Corneille's *Mélite* is a city play, without the magician, forest, or other items that characterize this list, and he consequently rejected this identification. But, still believing, despite the fact that he had no evidence except that of the unreliable marginal note, that Mahelot had in mind some play by Corneille, he set about looking for it till he fixed upon the *Illusion comique*, which does, indeed, require some of the scenery mentioned by the decorator. He was so sure that this identification was correct that he reproduced for the Exposition Universelle of 1878 the sketch which accompanies the list in the manuscript to show how the stage was set for the representation of the *Illusion*.

¹ *Mémoire de Laurent Mahelot et de Michel Laurent*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 24330, fonds fr., folios 34, 35. I have inserted the punctuation. Mahelot makes use of none. My edition of this MS., now in press, will appear shortly at Champion's, Paris.

² Cf. *Étude de la mise en scène*, preface to *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique*, 8th year, pp. xxvii-xxix.

His *maquette* reappeared with the same title in the standard history of French literature.³

Manzius,⁴ however, refused to accept Perrin's theory, on the ground that the *Illusion* was probably not originally acted at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, the theater for which Mahelot worked. He based this conclusion on the fact that Matamore, one of the characters in the *Illusion*, bears the stage name of an actor at the rival theater of the Marais⁵ and that Corneille, as far as we have any information on the subject, gave his early plays to this younger troop.⁶ What is more important is the fact that Mahelot never makes a mistake about the titles of his lists. In the few cases in which he refers to a printed play by some other title than that by which it is known to us, he invariably uses for this title the name of a person or a place that figures prominently in the plot.⁷ If then, in spite of this evidence, we are to accept Perrin's hypothesis that, when Mahelot entitled his list *Mélite*, he was referring to the *Illusion*, which has no character of this name, we must find the most exact correspondence between the scenery and properties of the play and those of the list. Can this be said to be the case?

In the *Illusion* there is, indeed, a magician who lives in a cave and uses a wand; a garden or park; a house or palace; but night comes in the third act, not in the first,⁸ and there is no mention of the *lune qui marche*, the *rossignols*, the *miroir enchanté*, the *carquans ou menottes*, the *trompettes*, or the *cornets de papier*;

³ *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, edited by Petit de Julleville, iv, 270.

⁴ *History of Theatrical Art*, translated by Louise von Cossel, London, 1903, II, 339, 340.

⁵ This is better evidence than that furnished by the line from the *Illusion*, I, 3, where a character is mentioned as composing "des chansons pour Gaultier, des pointes pour Guillaume," for these actors were so well known that, though they played at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, a reference to them might easily be made on a rival stage. Cf. Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, Paris, Hachette, 1889, p. 685.

⁶ He certainly did so in the case of *Mélite*, *Médée*, the *Cid*.

⁷ He refers to Beys's *Jalous sans sujet* as *Clarice*, using the name of the heroine.

⁸ Rigal, *loc. cit.*, holds that the first act of the *Illusion* takes place at night, but Corneille's text does not support him. He makes no explanation of the fact that there is a direct reference to night in the *Illusion*, III, 7, line 864.

while on the other hand, the *Illusion* requires a prison and a table on which money is counted and costumes displayed, to which Mahelot does not refer. Rigal⁹ tries to explain these discrepancies by arguing that the magic mirror, as well as the hat, would be naturally found in the possession of the magician; that the "*rossignols* pouvaient chanter dans le parc au cours des scènes d'amour, les *trompettes* annoncer l'attaque soudaine de l'acte V, sc. 3, les cornets de papier servir aux comptes des comédiens, acte V, sc. 5." He argues further that the *carcans* ou *menottes* may be used as a substitute for the prison, but says nothing about the articles mentioned in the *Illusion* which do not appear in Mahelot's list.

Even if there were no change of title, I should hesitate to accept the visibly moving moon as an "accessoire naturel" of night,¹⁰ *cornets* as needed in the counting of money, *carcans* ou *menottes* as a substitute for a prison, for nowhere else in the *Mémoire* can examples of such usage be found, though night and prisons are mentioned frequently enough and money is twice represented by *jetons*. There is, in short, too much to be explained as to scenery and properties as well as to title and place of representation for us to accept Perrin's identification.

I formed this opinion a few years ago while preparing an edition of the *Mémoire*. I concluded that there was not sufficient evidence to identify the list and that it might well refer to one of a score of lost plays known to have been represented at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Then I ran across in the Widener Library a play called *Bélinde*, written by Rampalle and published at Lyons in 1630, a work so little known and so poorly analyzed by historians of the French theater that nobody had thought of comparing it with Mahelot's list.

The first thing that struck me was the presence in the play of a princess called Mélite. On investigation she proved to be quite as important as the other princess, Bélinde, so that her name would make quite as suitable a title for the play. The piece con-

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Nor can it be argued that the magician makes the moon move to show his power, for in line 56 of the *Illusion* he says to Pridamant, "Vous n'avez pas besoin de miracles pareils," and expresses his contempt in lines 127-133 for those of his colleagues who make use of them.

tains a palace, a wood, a magician and his cavern. Night falls during the first act. The magician could and probably did make the moon move, for he says,¹¹ shortly before casting a spell:

C'est dans ce mesme bois que mes charmes terribles . . .
Obscurcissent la lune et font paslir les astres.

The magician refers¹² to "ce miroir diuin par mon art enchanté." In the last scene of the play the king sets the hero free with the words, "qu'on destache vos fers." Trumpets would naturally be used at the entrance of the king,¹³ returning from a victory and surrounded by his guards. The presence of the wand and the hat is easily understood, as they form a part of the magician's ordinary equipment. The *cornets de papier* remained a mystery till I noted a reference¹⁴ to a magic powder, used by the magician for his spell and held, of course, in some container. The use of a *cornet* for such a purpose will not surprise anyone who reads of a *cornet d'encens* in the list for the first *journée* of Hardy's *Pandoste*.

The only difficulty is offered by the presence of nightingales, whose song appears to be substituted for the cries mentioned in the following lines:¹⁵

Le cry malencontreux des funestes hibous,
Le triste aboy des chiens, et l'hurlement des loups,
M'obligent à sortir de ma noire caverne.

It should be noted that the essential thing was to draw the magician from his cave by sounds uttered at night. This feat accomplished, the animals had no further rôle to play. As the usual night cry referred to in the *Mémoire* is that of the nightingale, the decorator may have preferred to reproduce this sound rather than to follow the printed text. For the omission of dogs' barking he furnishes a parallel in his list for Hardy's *Belle Égyptienne*. One must always consider the possibility of slight differences between the text used by the actors, for whom Mahelot worked, and that of the published plays, with which we are acquainted. If one ignores this fact, he will identify few of Mahelot's lists.

¹¹ I, 2. The moon may have been represented also in the first scene as passing behind clouds, for the hero declares that "la lune . . . a couuert d'un brouillars sa corne qui luisoit."

¹² I, 2.

¹³ I, 2.

¹⁴ V, 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

The identification that I propose is, indeed, quite as satisfactorily established as is that of most lists in the *Mémoire*. It may be that Rampalle first called his play *Bélinde* and published it under that name in 1630, but that, after the representation of Corneille's *Mélite* early in the same year by the troop of the Marais, the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne preferred to change the name of Rampalle's play to *Mélite* in order to compete with their rivals more satisfactorily, just as we find, later on, Corneille's *Rodogune* and Racine's *Phèdre* opposed by plays of the same name given on another stage.

However this may have been, there is no doubt about the fact that in writing a list of scenery and properties for *Mélite*, Mahelot did not have in mind the *Illusion comique*, but an older play, the *Bélinde* or *Mélite* of Rampalle. There is no evidence that Mahelot anywhere referred to a play written by Corneille.¹⁶

Johns Hopkins University.

¹⁶ Corneille's plays figure prominently in the *Mémoire*, but only in the portions written by other decorators in 1646-47 and later years. Indeed, the fact that the *Illusion* was subsequently referred to is another reason for believing that its requirements had not already been listed by Mahelot.

THE STORY OF WORDSWORTH'S "CINTRA"

BY JOHN EDWIN WELLS

Of the vital importance for the Great War of Wordsworth's political writings in prose and verse composed during the struggle of England with Napoleon, there has been a growing recognition since the autumn of 1914. In them, and notably in the tract on the Convention of Cintra, are enunciated with no less power than nobility the essential principles of moral and political truth that have inspired and supported the associated peoples against Germany, and that are today, more clearly than ever before, realized to be the bases of any enduring formula for a rightly constituted world.

That the pamphlet on the Convention of Cintra has been little read, is but another token of the unwillingness of the average person to give himself to the contemplation of lofty thought uttered in the language of exalted passion. From the time of its publication in 1809, the tract has been a theme of eloquent praise by a long line of eminent men of widely varied interests. Scott,¹ Lamb,² Southey,³ and Henry Crabb Robinson⁴ were tremendously affected by it. Canning "considered it the most eloquent production of the kind since the days of Burke."⁵ Coleridge judged it to be "the grandest politico-moral work since Milton's *Defensio Pop. Anglic.*";⁶ he felt that "a considerable part is almost a self-robbery from some great philosophical poem, of which it would form an appropriate part, and be fitlier attuned to the high dogmatic eloquence, the oracular tone of impassioned blank verse";⁷ and he declared that "the Work (if it should die) would die of a plethora of the highest qualities of combined philosophic and poetic genius."⁷ Rogers admired it, and, to Lockhart, who guessed it was from Burke, he read a passage with

¹ Lockhart, *Life*, 1856, 3. 260-1.

² Letter to Coleridge, October 30, 1809.

³ See below, *passim*.

⁴ *London Review*, 1809, 2. 231 ff.

⁵ *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, 1. 405; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1850, 1. 617.

⁶ Harper, *William Wordsworth*, 2. 174.

⁷ *Letters of Coleridge*, Boston and New York, 1895, 2. 549.

praise of its beauty.⁸ Christopher Wordsworth wrote, ". . . but one judgment can exist with respect to the importance of [its] principles, and the vigorous and fervid eloquence with which they are enforced. If Mr. Wordsworth had never written a single verse, this Essay alone would be sufficient to place him in the highest rank of English poets."⁹

In a burst of enthusiastic praise, Professor Dowden characterized the tract as "Wordsworth's loftiest, most passionate, most prophet-like utterance as a prose-writer. . . . It may be classed in the small group of writings dealing with occasional incidents and events in their relation to what is everlasting and universal, at the head of which stands Milton's prophetic pamphlet, the sublime 'Areopagitica.' . . . Here Wordsworth could look into the life of things; here could submit himself to the vast impalpable motives of justice, and of the deep fraternity of nations; he could pursue those trains of reasoning which originate from, and are addressed to, the universal spirit of man."¹⁰ Professor Harper has declared the work to be "the last great example of a Miltonic tract." "His style is as heroic as his theme. . . . If we had heroic minds, this would be the language in which to address them. A student of rhetoric or of logic will find here a noble example, in the grand style, of both arts. They have been used in this pamphlet as the instruments of a passion that without them would have destroyed the mind in which it raged."¹¹

Chiefly on the basis of the pamphlet, Professor Dicey reiterated during the Great War that the salvation of England was due in 1803-1815, and must be due in "this present crisis," "to the resolution and faith of the British people"; and declared that "the record or the expression of this saving faith . . . will be found, in its best and clearest form, in the political ideas or, in other words, in the statesmanship of Wordsworth."¹² He showed that Wordsworth anticipated by more than twenty years the nationalism of Mazzini,¹³

⁸ *Recollections of the Very Rev. G. D. Boyle*, 68.

⁹ *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, 1. 399.

¹⁰ *Studies in Literature*, London, 1902, 149, 151.

¹¹ *William Wordsworth*, 2. 176-7.

¹² *Nineteenth Century*, 77. 1042; *Statesmanship of Wordsworth*, Oxford, 1917, 116 ff.; Reprint of tract, Oxford, 1916, vii ff.

¹³ *Statesmanship of Wordsworth*, 80.

and the full growth of nationalism by at least forty years.¹⁴ He emphatically maintained that "the foreign policy of England during the nineteenth century, in so far as it coincided with the statesmanship of Wordsworth, was markedly successful; in so far as it deviated from his statesmanship, it ended in failure, or at best in very dubious success."¹⁵ And he found in the pamphlet a characterization of the causes of the Great War, and for the world today a rich treasury of lessons.¹⁶

The political aspects and significance of the pamphlet have been extensively discussed by Professor Dicey. But biographers and critics have ignored or hurried over the circumstances of its writing and publication. In their meagre statements regarding these matters, many have repeated errors and misconceptions, even failing to collate and arrange the materials on which they rest. None has shown the nature or the degree of the participation of Coleridge and De Quincey in the work, and most have fostered an erroneous impression of the efficiency of De Quincey's labors.

The following pages¹⁷ deal with these issues. In addition, they present what seem to be correct datings for the letters in question; show the various stages of conception and composition of the pamphlet; indicate the facts of transmission, and the peculiarities of the various texts; afford a closer view of the life at Allan Bank during the winter and spring of 1808-1809 than has yet been

¹⁴ *Nineteenth Century*, 77. 1053; *Statesmanship of Wordsworth*, 82, note.

¹⁵ *Nineteenth Century*, 77. 1054; *Statesmanship of Wordsworth*, 96; Oxford reprint of tract, xxxiii.

¹⁶ *Nineteenth Century*, 77. 1058; *Statesmanship of Wordsworth*, 116 ff.

¹⁷ The following abbreviations are used in this article:

- LLP *Letters from the Lake Poets to Daniel Stuart*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, London, 1889.
- LWF *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. Knight, 3 vols., Boston and London, 1907.
- LC *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, 2 vols., Boston and New York, 1895.
- PW *Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. Knight, 2 vols., London, 1896.
- 1809 The 1809 text of the tract on the Convention of Cintra.
- G The text of the tract in *Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. Grosart, London, 1876, Vol. 1.
- K The text of the tract in PW, Vol. 1.
- Oxf *Wordsworth's Tract on the Convention of Cintra*, with introduction by A. V. Dicey, Oxford University Press, London, 1915.

developed; suggest the state of mind and the attitudes of the prominent persons concerned; and perhaps will be felt to illustrate conditions and features that are not uninteresting in themselves, and that are representative of common human nature and experience.

The reader must bear in mind the limitations of this study. Never for a moment must he permit these homely and, from a larger view, trivial details to obscure his consciousness that the only ultimate interest of most of them is their as it were accidental association with a lofty spirit bound on a more than mortal emprise. He who would tell the story of the inner making of Wordsworth's *Cintra* would compose a sublime epic of the soul.

In June, 1808, the Wordsworths moved from their cramped home in Dove Cottage to the more commodious dwelling at Allan Bank that they were to occupy until the spring of 1811. The domestic conditions were extremely trying. The grounds were in disorder. The building was not finished, and the construction was very defective. The house was cold, the cellars were wet, the chimneys smoked intolerably. As the wind changed, the several rooms varied in degrees of uninhabitableness. The woodwork, the dishes, the furniture, the carpets, all were covered with soot. "In fact," wrote Dorothy to Mrs. Clarkson on December 8 (LWF 1.388), "we have seldom an hour's leisure (either Mary or I) till after 7 o'clock (when the children go to bed), for all the time that we have for sitting still in the course of the day we are obliged to employ in scouring (and many of our evenings also)." The ordinary housework was far too heavy for the two maids and the little girl-helper. The baking and much of the washing was done at home. Two pigs had to be attended to. The cook cared for the cow in a stable two field-lengths distant.¹⁸

The very commodiousness of the house added to the burdens. From September into February, Coleridge domesticated with them; and, from November into February, De Quincey was their guest. Sara Hutchinson was a member of the household. During the autumn, there were regularly thirteen in the family. John, the

¹⁸ See *Memoirs*, 1. 382; LWF, 1. 386, 388, 430; Knight, *Life of Wordsworth*, 1. 432; De Quincey's account of the house and the poet's dealings with the landlord, Mr. Crump of Liverpool, Masson ed. *Collected Writings*, Edinburgh, 1889, 2. 358.

oldest of the four children, was only five years of age; Catherine was born in September, 1808. For weekends and holidays, Hartley and Derwent Coleridge came to them from school at Ambleside. On one occasion, Mrs. Coleridge stayed a week under their roof, certainly, with her understood "separation" (LWF 1.387) from Coleridge, increasing the difficulties of the situation.¹⁹

Here, through the autumn and winter of 1808-1809, Coleridge, beginning "in tolerable health and better spirits" than Wordsworth had "known him to possess for some time" (LWF 1.377), was feverishly working on the plans for his periodical, the *Friend*, and striving to overcome the innumerable impediments to its publication. The adults of the family were engaged in soliciting support from his already more than generous acquaintance. All were pretending for his encouragement a confidence in the success of the great project, that his ill-health and but too well known irregularity forbade them really to feel as more than a bare possibility—though they feared it was a last hope for him. Sara Hutchinson was devoting herself, as amanuensis and confidant, to relieve Coleridge from the physical labors of the extensive correspondence connected with the projected periodical, and to inspire him from the inertia, the diffusion of effort, the bodily distress, and the despondency, that intermittently possessed him.

It was in such adverse conditions—to which are to be added the inadequateness and uncertainties of the postal arrangements, and the delay and irregularities in the arrival of news, which were incident to the remoteness of Grasmere, and the isolation of Allan Bank—that Wordsworth undertook and carried through the composition of his tract on the Convention of Cintra.

The so-called Convention of Cintra was signed on August 30, 1808. On September 4, Sir Hew Dalrymple sent off a dispatch containing the Convention and the Armistice. These reached London on the 15th, and were published on the 16th.

The news most profoundly agitated the circles at Allan Bank and Keswick. On the 27th, Wordsworth wrote Richard Sharp (LWF 1.380), "We are all here cut to the heart by the conduct of Sir Hew and his brother knight [Sir Harry Burrard] in Portugal. For myself, I have not suffered so much upon any public occasion

¹⁹ See Sara Coleridge's *Memoir and Letters*, 1873, I. 17-20.

these many years." The little group in their isolation sought with the utmost anxiety each bit of news of the ensuing events. Years later, Wordsworth declared to Miss Fenwick, "It would not be easy to conceive with what a depth of feeling I entered into the struggle carried on by the Spaniards for their deliverance from the usurped power of the French. Many times have I gone from Allan Bank in Grasmere Vale, where we were then residing, to the Raise-Gap, as it is called, so late as two o'clock in the morning, to meet the carrier bringing the newspaper from Keswick. Imperfect traces of the state of mind in which I then was may be found in my tract on the Convention of Cintra, as well as in the *Sonnets dedicated to Liberty*." ²⁰ Sara Coleridge wrote of this autumn, "It was during this stay at Allan Bank that I used to see my father and Mr. De Quincey pace up and down the room in conversation. I understood not, nor listened to a word they said, but used to note the handkerchief hanging out of the pocket behind, and long to clutch it. Mr. Wordsworth, too, must have been one of the room walkers. How gravely and earnestly used Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth and my uncle Southey also to discuss the affairs of the nation, as if it all came home to their business and bosoms, as if it were their private concern! Men do not discuss these matters now-a-days, I think, quite in the same tone." ²¹

The correspondence of Southey, Coleridge, and Wordsworth in this and the next year shows their great concern in the Convention and the succeeding developments. But the poets were not willing to confine their feeling to mere private discussion. In October, with others in the neighborhood, they were planning public action. To Humphrey Senhouse, Southey wrote on the 15th, "I have had a visit this morning from S—— and C—— upon the subject of this convention in Portugal. They, and some of their friends are very desirous of bringing before the country, in some regular form, the main iniquity of the business—which has been lost sight of in all the addresses—and of rectifying public opinion by showing it in its true light." He states what is the "true light": Sir Hew Dalrymple "has abandoned our vantage ground, betrayed the cause of Spain and Portugal, and disclaimed, as far as his authority extends, the feelings which the Spaniards are inculcating, and in

²⁰ *Memoirs*, I. 384. See *Sonnets . . . to Liberty*, II. 7, 8.

²¹ *Memoir and Letters*, London, 1873, I. 19.

which lie their strength and their salvation, by degrading into a common and petty war between soldier and soldier, that which is the struggle of a nation against a foreign usurper, a business of natural life and death, a war of virtue against vice, light against darkness, the good principle against the evil one. . . . These sentiments would appear with most effect if they were embodied in a county address, of which the ostensible purport might be to thank his Majesty for having instituted an inquiry, and to request that he would be pleased to appoint a day of national humiliation for this grievous national disgrace. S—— and C—— know many persons who will come forward at such a meeting. Coleridge or Wordsworth will be ready to speak, and will draw up resolutions to be previously approved, and brought forward by some proper person. We will prepare the way by writing in the county papers.”²²

On the 30th, Southey wrote Tom Southey of the proposed address. Party lines being avoided, Lord Lonsdale has been applied to through Senhouse; but Lonsdale “views the Convention in a very different light,” and “will do all he can to prevent a meeting, or oppose anything that may be done at once. . . . If anything is done in Cumberland, here it will originate with Wordsworth: he and Coleridge will set the business in its true light, in the county newspapers, and frame the resolutions, to be brought forward by some weighty persons; and Wordsworth will speak at the meeting, he being a freeholder. We all meet Curwen (by his special desire) at Calvert’s on Friday next, and I suppose the plan of operations will be settled.”²³

But the plans failed, perhaps through the opposition of Lonsdale. To Scott, who felt tremendously regarding the Convention, and who, after reading the first instalments of Wordsworth’s tract in the *Courier*, declared, in a passionate outburst, “I . . . *much agree with him*,” Southey wrote on November 6, “Wordsworth, who left me today, desires his remembrances. He is about to write a pamphlet upon this precious Convention, which he will place in a more philosophical point of view than any body has yet done.”²⁴ Southey wrote W. S. Landor on November 26, “We used our endeavors here

²² *Life and Correspondence*, London, 1850, 3. 175.

²³ *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, London, 1856, 2. 116-7.

²⁴ Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, 1856, 3. 260-1; Southey’s *Life and Correspondence*, London, 1850, 3. 180.

to obtain a county meeting and send in a petition which should have taken up the Convention upon its true grounds of honour and moral feeling, keeping all pettier considerations out of sight. Wordsworth,—who left me when he found the business hopeless,—went home to ease his heart in a pamphlet, which I daily expect to hear he has completed.”²⁵

The failure of these schemes was, then, the final force that set Wordsworth to work on the tract. Moreover, the object of the plans, one notes, was to express and to instill the vast moral and political principles that the poets and others of the locality felt to be involved in the Convention. In so far, they prepared for and confirmed the attitude that Wordsworth took, and the ends that he sought, in the pamphlet. From the first, expanding the design for the county petition, the tract was to be made an exemplification of the poet's theory and practice from the days of Racedown and Alfoxden—the testing and evaluation of phenomena, physical, political, literary, moral, by universal and enduring principles. This same practice was to be illustrated later in 1809 (LWF 1.479) in his account of the Lake District for Wilkinson's *Select Views*.

It was, however, no reluctance or lack of enthusiasm on the part of his fellow poets, but Wordsworth's own extreme ardor, that gave him the welcome task. Southey wrote on October 30, “It is some satisfaction to me that I shall be able to leave upon record my opinion upon this infamous Convention, in the ‘History of Portugal.’ ”²⁶ On this work he was already engaged. On January 13, 1809, the date on which Wordsworth's second essay appeared in the *Courier*, Southey wrote (LLP 397) Daniel Stuart at length on the Peninsular situation, beginning, “If Wordsworth had not undertaken to write upon the Cintra Convention, I believe I should; for no public event ever distressed me so greatly.” As is well known, Coleridge planned for early in 1809 (LC 543; LLP 142) two articles on Spanish affairs for the *Courier*. In December, 1809, and January, 1810, he contributed to the *Courier* eight “letters” on Spanish affairs, which he wished “to be regarded as a kind of supplement to Wordsworth's pamphlet” (LLP 142 note).

On November 6, then, Wordsworth left Keswick for Allan Bank, determined on a pamphlet. He set to work at once. In the

²⁵ Southey's *Life and Correspondence*, 3. 197.

²⁶ *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, London, 1856, 2. 116.

"Advertisement" prefaced to the tract, he states, "I began to write upon this subject in November last." The work progressed rapidly. On December 3, he confided to Wrangham (LWF 1.385; *Memoirs* 1.386), "I myself am very deep in this subject, and about to publish upon it; first, I believe in a newspaper for the sake of immediate and wide circulation; and next, the same matter in a separate pamphlet. Under the title of *The Convention of Cintra brought to the Test of Principles; and the People of Great Britain vindicated from the Charge of having prejudged it.*"

On December 4, Dorothy informed Mrs. Marshall (LWF 1.387), "My brother is deeply engaged writing a pamphlet upon the Convention of Cintra, an event which has interested him more than words can express. His first and his last thoughts are of Spain and Portugal. . . ." The house is "at present literally not habitable" for the smoke and dampness, and the consequent labors of the family and the servants, and the lack of quiet. They are distressed with the possible "miserable necessity of quitting Grasmere"; no other house is to be had in the vale. Their only hope is in a final effort through "workmen by the half-dozen making attempts (hitherto unsuccessful) to remedy these evils."—On December 8, to Mrs. Clarkson, Dorothy wrote (LWF 1.389) from the dining room, "Sara and he [Coleridge] are sitting together in his parlour, William and Mary (alas! all involved in smoke) in William's study, where she is writing for him (he dictating). He is engaged in a work that occupies all his thoughts. It will be a pamphlet of considerable length, entitled *The Convention of Cintra brought to the Test of Principles and the People of England justified from the Charge of Prejudging*, or something to that effect. I believe it will first appear in the *Courier* in different sections. Mr. De Quincey, whom you would love dearly, as I am sure I do, is beside me, quietly turning over the leaves of a Greek book. . . ."

The young De Quincey—for he was only in his twenty-fourth year, though one is ever prone to think of him as past middle age!—was still held by his reverent admiration of Coleridge and Wordsworth. He was planning to reside at Dove Cottage in order to be near them, though for long his alert eyes and acute sensibilities had been storing up recognitions that his heroes had many of the frailties of common men. He had won his way permanently into

the affections of the women and the children of the household. "We feel often," continues Dorothy, "as if he were one of the family—he is loving, gentle, and happy—a very good scholar, and an acute logician. . . . His person is unfortunately diminutive, but there is a sweetness in his looks, especially about the eyes, which soon overcomes the oddness of your first feeling at the sight of so very little a man. John sleeps with him, and is passionately fond of him." It is not the disconcertingly critical, and sometimes almost malicious, De Quincey of the later *Reminiscences* who appears in the letters of these times. It is the affectionate, self-effacing friend, eager in serviceableness; the loving play-fellow and teacher of Johnny; and the worshipper of the baby Catherine, whose death several years later was to cause him agonies of grief equalling those of the fondest parent.²⁷

The paper chosen for the initial publication of the "essays" was the *London Courier*, of which Daniel Stuart had been a half-owner since 1802. As early as 1796, almost directly on his becoming proprietor and editor of the *Morning Post*, Stuart had written Coleridge, offering him a guinea a week for contributions in prose and verse. In the *Post*, Coleridge had printed several of his better-known poems before he went to Germany with the Wordsworths on the proceeds of the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798. After his return, he continued for a time irregularly to perform the duties of political writer and verse contributor to the paper. From that period, Stuart had been his employer when he would accept employment, always his firm friend, and a valued counsellor to whom Coleridge turned with confidence and warm regard, but, as usually, with much too frequent exercise of the privilege to act as he pleased. On his return from Malta in 1806, Coleridge became for a time an assistant editor to Street, managing editor and partner with Stuart in the *Courier*, and dwelt in a room of the *Courier* building. Thenceforward, Coleridge had had intermittent connection with the paper. In his visits to London, the *Courier* office was his place of resort. There, during the period of his series of lectures in the winter of 1807-1808, he occupied his old room. As early as 1801 (LLP 329),

²⁷ See Masson's *Collected Writings of De Quincey*, Edinburgh, 1889, 2. 441; Japp, *De Quincey's Life and Writings*, New York, 1877, 1. 154, 167-8. For De Quincey's fondness for and influence on the children, and the plan that he should be the sole teacher of Catherine, see LWF 1. 453, 463.

the ever self-respecting Wordsworth had felt on sufficiently intimate terms with Stuart to apply to him for the loan of ten pounds in default of aid from Coleridge. The extant correspondence of the two poets with the publisher during our period, clearly indicates his cordial concern, his unfailing patience, and his generous readiness to meet the numerous demands that his proved regard led them freely to make on his personal efforts and his professional experience and connections. From the first days of the project for the *Friend*, through the seven months covering the composition and publication of Wordsworth's tract, Coleridge was confiding to him the minute details of his plans. To him he applied in all the manifold earlier legal, financial, and professional difficulties connected with the ill-starred enterprise.

To this experienced friend it was that Wordsworth turned for the publication of the "essays." On the 9th of December, Coleridge wrote Stuart (LLP 95; LC 534), "Wordsworth has nearly finished a series of most masterly Essays on the Affairs of Portugal and Spain, and by my advice he will first send them to you that if they suit *The Courier* they may be inserted." On the 10th, he notified Street, managing editor of the *Courier* (LLP 97), "I shall send the two first to Mr. Stuart by the next post, and the others as soon as ever I hear from him or you."

But, though Wordsworth was evidently working with eager diligence, the statement that the "series" of essays was "nearly finished" appears to be one of Coleridge's characteristic identifications of design and accomplishment. The delays in delivery had already begun. Account had not been taken of the labors of composition, and of the development of the plan in the author's mind. It was a week later, December 17, that Coleridge posted a letter (LLP 108) informing Stuart, "Wordsworth's first Essay, I hope the two first, will be sent to you by this, or the following post." The first, perhaps also the second, essay did come to Stuart soon.

Without waiting farther, Street proceeded to print the "copy." The first instalment appeared in the *Courier* of Thursday, December 27, 1808, page 2, columns 2-4, a total of almost three columns.²⁸

²⁸ None of the editors, critics, or bibliographers gives evidence of having examined the files of the *Courier* for the Wordsworth essays. All who speak of them are content with a statement, apparently based on the first paragraph of the "Advertisement" prefaced to the 1809 edition of the tract, that the articles appeared in December, 1808, and January, 1809,

The article is headed in capitals, "Concerning the / Convention of Cintra, / In Reference to the Principles by which the / Independence and Freedom of Nations Must / Be Preserved or Recovered." It is signed "G." There is no notice of a continuation. The text extends from the beginning of the tract as printed in 1809 and by its several editors, to the end of the paragraph concluding, ". . . the second pledge (and this was from the hand of their Generals), was the Convention of Cintra" (1809, 11 ¶ 1; G, 43 ¶ 1; K, 120 ¶ 1; Oxf, 13 ¶ 1).

Four parts were evidently sent off with fair promptness. But the physical suffering always consequent upon protracted application by the poet, was already manifesting itself. On December 28 (LLP 110), Coleridge wrote Stuart, "I am afraid that Wordsworth's fifth cannot go off, as was intended, in this frank. It is finished, all but the corrections, but his head and [stomach] have been disordered the whole day till late this evening. Consequently, such are our posts, it cannot go off from Kendal till Saturday morning."

With so much "copy" in the printer's hands, such slight delay might have caused comparatively little trouble. Mischance, however, had already prevented the printing of the second instalment. The "Advertisement" to the 1809 edition states, "An accidental loss of several sheets of the manuscript delayed the continuance of the publication" in the *Courier* "till the close of the Christmas holidays"—actually till Friday, January 13. The sheets lost were, evidently, from the second instalment of the tract. In a letter (LLP 153) dated "Tuesday morning," clearly December 27,²⁹

"extending to page 25" of the tract. Curiously, "page 25" remains in all the reprints, despite the fact that each reprint has its own pagination.—A copy of the *Courier* for 1808 and 1809 is in the Yale University Library. The results of my collation of this with the text of the pamphlet are given on pages 65, 69, below.

²⁹ This letter is printed in LLP as No. 45, with a suggestion by the editor (E. H. Coleridge) that it should precede No. 33, dated January 23, if, as it implies, it "was written shortly after the death of Dr. Beddoes (Dec. 28, 1808)." In LC 544 note, the same editor dates Beddoes' death correctly, December 24. The "Tuesday" of the present letter is December 27. The next post for London after Monday night left Ambleside Wednesday morning (LLP 119). The suggested dating is supported by Coleridge's letter of February 3 (LC 543) to Poole, ". . . An accident in London delayed the publication ten days."

Coleridge wrote Stuart, "William received your letter this morning at eleven o'clock. We have been hard at work ever since. It is now nearly three in the morning. However, the Essay has probably benefited by the accident. At all events it has been increased in size. We are very sorry you should have had so much, or indeed any anxiety about the loss of the papers, which has been so easily repaired." This "copy" left by the Ambleside post on Wednesday. In a letter (LLP 101) headed "Monday night," added to one headed "Sunday, Noon," evidently January 1 and 2, 1809,³⁰ Coleridge wrote Stuart, "You will long ere this (on Friday morning I calculate) have received Wordsworth's second Essay, rewritten by me, and in some parts, recomposed." This evidently refers to the work of the night spoken of in the letter just quoted. Coleridge appends a postscript to the Monday letter: "The very post by which your letter was received, Wordsworth sent the Essay, and the answer to your questions."

From some cause—at least partly the pressure of other matter for the *Courier*, and partly difficulties with the manuscript and the postal delays in bearing inquiries and replies (see LLP 119)—the second part of the tract was issued two weeks after its receipt. The piece appeared in the *Courier* of Friday, January 13, page 1, column 4, to the end of page 2, a total of almost five full columns. It was headed in capitals, "Concerning / The Convention of Cintra, / in Relation to the Principles by Which Alone / the Independence and Freedom of Nations / Can Be Maintained or Recovered." Next follows a notice, "Section II. / *Continued from Tuesday's Courier*, 27th ult." At the end of the article is the notice, "*To be continued.*) G." The text begins with the sentence, "The reader will by this time have perceived . . ." (1809, 11 ¶ 2; G, 43 ¶ 2; K, 120 ¶ 2; Oxf, 13 ¶ 2). It ends with the last words of the paragraph concluding, ". . . and life to the eye and heart of the spectator" (1809, 25 ¶ 1; G, 52 ¶ 2; K, 132 ¶ 1; Oxf, 26 ¶ 1).

³⁰ The Friday mentioned is December 30. The post left Ambleside for London on Wednesday mornings (LWF 1. 398, ¶ 1; LLP 119). LLP 99 prints this as No. 30, preceding No. 31, that posted December 17. But the quotation already made from the letter shows that the present letter follows it and also the letter (LLP No. 45, p. 153) that we have dated December 27. The LLP letters should be arranged in the order 29, 31, 45, 32, 30, 33.

The picture suggested by Coleridge's account of the two poets laboring through the night of the 26th, far into the morning, is interesting in itself and in its illustration of a practice common at Dove Cottage and Allan Bank, as at Racedown and Alfoxden. But Coleridge's statements about the fruits of the night's work give it a considerably added import.

Several critics have spoken of the fact that Coleridge contributed passages to the Cintra pamphlet. None, however, has attempted to identify any such passage. Knight quotes (PW 1. xiii) from a letter written by Henry Nelson Coleridge to Dyce on February 6, 1836, and preserved in the Dyce and Forster Library at South Kensington, "A very brilliant portion of Mr. W.'s pamphlet on the Cintra Convention is Coleridge's. They did not think of authorship *meum* and *tuum* then. Few persons are now competent to take an account of that partnership. Indeed who wants to strike any balance?" Knight remarks, "It would be interesting if we could now discover what 'portion' of this 'Tract' was written by S. T. C.; but, in the absence of such a clue, it is extremely interesting to find that the literary co-partnery, begun in the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798, was continued in *The Convention of Cintra*, as well as in *The Friend*."

But there is direct evidence from the pen of Coleridge that enables us to identify precisely a considerable passage, probably the one in question, as Coleridge's. On February 3, 1809, he wrote Thomas Poole (LC 543), "You will probably have seen two of Wordsworth's Essays in the 'Courier,' signed 'G.' The two last columns of the second, excepting the concluding paragraph, were written all but a few sentences by me. An accident in London delayed the publication ten days." We have seen that the accident was the loss of several sheets of "copy" which was repaired by the night-work of December 26.

The portion of the tract definitely claimed by Coleridge—i. e., the last two columns of the second article, excepting the last paragraph—extends from the words, "not merely in the opinion of those who support him" (1809, 18 l. 27; G, 48 l. 13; K, 126 l. 10 from end; Oxf, 20 l. 14), to the end of the paragraph concluding, ". . . evince the nobler morality indispensable to the latter" (1809, 23 end; G, 52 ¶ 1; K, 131 ¶ 1; Oxf, 25 ¶ 1).

Confirmation that this passage is Coleridge's, and that the article

is the one revamped during the night hours of December 26-27, may appear in Coleridge's remark (see above) that, as a result of that labor, the "essay" had "been increased in size." The article is longer than the first article by about two columns of the *Courier*, just the extent of the passage claimed by Coleridge.

Coleridge's characterization of this second article as "rewritten by me, and in some parts recomposed" (see above), is probably to be taken rather loosely. The poets set to work to fill up a gap caused by the loss of "two or three sheets" (LWF 1.426 ¶ 2). It would be very strange if, at this period, Wordsworth, and Coleridge also, did not make a number of alterations or additions at other places in the text. Either author may have written any of these. They did perceive that they lengthened the article. The matter contributed by Coleridge may include the substitute for the lost sheets. It may be wholly additional. Beyond this it seems at present impossible to identify contributions made by Coleridge to the tract. Certainly, according to the habit of the two friends when together, Coleridge must have been fully acquainted with all the progress of the work up to the middle of February, 1809; and he probably had contributed not only criticism, but, as well, materials and expression. De Quincey must also have been called constantly into consultation. That Coleridge contributed nothing to the long insertion sent De Quincey on March 25 (see below, pages 37 ff.), is clear from Wordsworth's statement to Stuart on March 27 (LLP 337) that he has not seen Coleridge "this month past."

By January 13, then, two sections had been printed, and at least two or three more were in the hands of Stuart. But the third instalment did not appear. There were defects in Wordsworth's "copy" necessitating repeated queries from London. The difficulties with the post were interfering seriously. This is apparent from a letter dated "Monday noon, January 23," and bearing the postmark "January 28" (LLP 119), in which Coleridge replied to remonstrances by Stuart, "In answer to that part of your letter . . . respecting Wordsworth's copy, I thought I had explained to you the misery of our Post." After stating definitely some of these trials, he says, "In every instance Wordsworth has sent off his answer the first moment possible, and has twice walked out to the Carrier's house after two o'clock in the morning. He is very busy

at his Work." The two elements just indicated must be borne in mind when considering the delays in the publication of the pamphlet itself.

The confusion and delay continued in effect through the printing of the tract. They now forced a recognition that prompt and satisfactory serial publication was impracticable. Accordingly, Wordsworth determined to give up the printing in the *Courier*, and to issue the work only in the pamphlet that from the first had been planned to follow the newspaper publication. In the "Advertisement" prefaced to the tract, Wordsworth states that because of the delay in the issue of the second instalment, "the pressure of public business rendering it then improbable that room could be found, in the columns of the paper, regularly to insert matter extending to such a length—this plan of publication was given up."³¹ The change in plan had been made before February 3, for on that date Coleridge wrote Poole (LC 543), "An accident in London delayed the publication ten days. The whole, therefore, is now publishing as a pamphlet, and I believe with a more comprehensive title."

Wordsworth probably received no remuneration for the *Courier* articles. The pamphlet was published apparently at the author's expense (LLP 154). In 1838, a passage in Gilman's *Life of Coleridge*, and matter in a group of articles on Coleridge contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* by Stuart and H. N. Coleridge, led Wordsworth to apprehend with irritation that he would be regarded as having been a paid writer for the *Courier* or *Morning Post*.³² On May 17, 1838 (LLP 384), he protested at length that he, Mary, and Dorothy had no recollection of any payments for any articles; and he begged Stuart to inform him if he had any evidence to the contrary.

As Coleridge's letter of December 27 (LLP 154) shows, Stuart had undertaken, before the appearance of the first *Courier* article,

³¹ See also the letter to Wrangham of April 3, 1809 (LWF 1. 426; see note 63).

³² See Campbell's *Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge*, London, 1901, li; *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1838, 1. 485, 577, 2. 22, 124. In considering this irritation one must remember Wordsworth's offer to Stuart in 1801 (LLP 329) to write articles in payment of the loan of ten pounds that he asked; and his idea in the spring of 1809 (LWF 1. 431-2; see below, page 51) of adding to his income by newspaper writing.

to arrange for the printing and publishing of the pamphlet. The printing was placed with C. and R. Baldwin, New Bridge-street, London. Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, of Paternoster-Row, undertook the publishing.

By the earlier part of February, more "copy" had reached Stuart, who, before the 8th, had written both Coleridge and Wordsworth of his gratification with the work (LLP 123, 330). In a letter posted on the 9th (LLP 333), Wordsworth apologized for having been so dilatory with the manuscript, and promised to make all the haste in his power. The letter shows that his experience with the poet's "copy" for the several articles sent to the *Courier*, had caused Stuart to caution the author against delays, and particularly corrections and additions, and to advise him to get out a first edition with as great haste as possible, leaving his modifications for a second edition. Had this advice been followed, the tract would not have appeared too late to affect the issues it discussed.

Facing the practical conditions of publishing in London, Wordsworth realized more fully the difficulties imposed by the remoteness of Allan Bank. Had he not felt them otherwise, Coleridge's prolonged distresses in arranging for the printing and publication of the *Friend* would have aroused misgivings as to the plan, and also have convinced him that a printing of the sheets on a neighboring press was not feasible, even if it were possible. He resorted to the expedient, commonly unwise, and for him in the conditions especially unadvisable, of having an agent in London see the pamphlet through the press. De Quincey was contemplating an early departure for London. That he was of "old bachelor preciseness, accurate and regular in all he does" (LLP 125) was evident. Moreover, he had been expounding his "determination to have printed under his own eye, immaculate editions of such of the eminently great Classics, English and Greek, as most need it" (LLP 125). Of his devotion to the poet, and application to a task undertaken for him, there could be no question. Accordingly, despite protests by Coleridge—how vigorous one cannot say—that their "young friend's" turn of mind was "anxious yet dilatory, confused from over accuracy, and at once systematic and labyrinthine" (LLP 155-6), Wordsworth commissioned De Quincey to supervise the printing (see also LWF 1.456).

This decision was made in the first weeks of February. Word

was evidently sent to Stuart, who had been receiving the manuscript. On the 15th,³³ Coleridge wrote Stuart a letter posted on the 27th, with some details regarding De Quincey, apparently in reply to the publisher's inquiries as to who he was. He reminded Stuart that he had probably seen De Quincey at the *Courier* offices with him:³⁴ the young man had determined to reside at Grasmere. It is a fact that Wordsworth had taken a lease on Dove Cottage for six years, subletting it to De Quincey (LWF 1.396 ¶ 2). In the new tenant's absence, Dorothy undertook to superintend the repairs to the house, and the furnishing with materials partly purchased by herself for De Quincey, and partly sent on from Manchester by De Quincey's friend, Mrs. Kelsall. With this her letters show her to have been occupied during the next four months or more.³⁵ De Quincey did not take up till November³⁶ the residence that he was to maintain for more than twenty years, and that was to be in his tenancy for still another seven years.

On February 16 or 17,³⁷ De Quincey left Allan Bank for London.

³³ LLP 124, No. 36. Dated "Wednesday morning." Headed by the editor, "Posted February 27, 1809." This properly precedes No. 37, of February 16. The latter says Coleridge has engaged Brown of Penrith to print the *Friend*; the former indicates that Pennington has refused to print the paper, and Coleridge is undecided as to whether to print in the Lake District or in London—he knows of no one who could print the sheets nearer than Liverpool. Letter 35, of "February 10, 1809," tells of Pennington's refusal. Wednesday of Letter 36 would be February 15. On that date the letter was written. The delay in posting from the 15th to the 27th corresponds with the delay in receiving Wilkins' letter of the 16th (LLP 133). On the 27th (LLP 133, l. 2), when he spoke of this latter delay, Coleridge informed Stuart that he had been ill for eight days. LWF 1. 394, dated by me February 28 (see note 37), shows that Coleridge left Allan Bank on the 20th, and was held from day to day till the 27th by illness at Lloyd's at Brathay. He evidently missed the mails, and held the letter expecting to mail it from day to day.

³⁴ See De Quincey's amusing account of Coleridge in lodgings at the *Courier* office, Masson's ed. *Writings*, Edinburgh, 1889, 2. 188, 193.

³⁵ See LWF 1. 418, 419, 433, 442, 466, 470.

³⁶ See LWF 1. 480, 481.

³⁷ LWF 1. 394, No. 186. Dated "Tuesday." Knight adds "[March 10, 1809.]" Japp (*De Quincey Memorials*, N. Y., 1891, 1. 394) prints all this letter, dating it "Tuesday, March 10, 1809." The letter indicates that De Quincey left Grasmere at least ten days past. He has left a record that he quitted Allan Bank in February, 1809 (Masson ed. *Collected Writings of De Quincey*, Edinburgh, 1889, 2. 359, 360). This letter says Cole-

That the task he had undertaken was no light one, is evident from the difficulties that Stuart had experienced with the first instalments sent him in London. We have seen that these were due to the poor postal facilities, and notably to the defectiveness of Wordsworth's "copy" and his proneness to alterations. But De Quincey's undertaking was still more difficult. Wordsworth's letter (LWF 1.456) to Poole, excusing himself, and complaining against De Quincey, after the pamphlet had been printed, shows what a burden the poet had imposed on his agent, and what irrecognition he had of its nature: "Mr. De Quincey . . . took his departure from my house to London; and, in order to save time and expense, I begged that instead of sending the sheets down to me to be corrected, they should be transferred directly to him for that purpose; and I determined to send the remaining portions of the MS. to him as they were finished, to be by him transmitted to the press. This was a most unfortunate resolution; for at the time the subject of punctuation in prose was one to which I had never attended, and had of course settled no scheme of it in my own mind. I deputed that office to Mr. De Quincey. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ!*"

A sufficiently ungrateful task, one would conclude! But with an author of Wordsworth's impatience, and with a work into which the writer was so pouring himself, and from which he hoped for

ridge has been away since "a week yesterday." In a letter to Stuart "Posted March 31, 1809" (LLP 337), written March 26 (see note 43), Wordsworth says he has not seen Coleridge "this month past." This present letter says Coleridge has been ill at Brathay during most of the previous week. Yesterday he went off to Penrith and Appleby about a letter from the Stamp Office at Appleby stating that Wilkins, the distributor, must have instructions from London; so Wordsworth has missed him. A note from Coleridge has stated that he has just about finished the first essay for the *Friend*. Coleridge's letter of February 27 (LLP 133) to Stuart says he has received that day, the 27th, the letter from the Stamp Office at Appleby, saying directions must be obtained from London. He states that he has been very ill for the past eight days, and enjoys writing at the essays for the *Friend*. Evidently the present letter was written Tuesday, February 28.—LLP 125, which I have shown to date from February 15 (which date is confirmed by the matter of this present note), speaks of De Quincey as if Stuart had been told of him, probably of his coming on about the tract, and had inquired about him. This fits in with February 28 as the date for this present letter, for that date makes De Quincey arrive in London at least ten days before, and hence leave Allan Bank on the 16th or 17th at latest.

the public and for himself such great effects, it was one extremely difficult to perform satisfactorily. But we shall find that the burden became much heavier as the weeks passed.

Unfortunately, but few of the letters between Allan Bank and De Quincey during the printing of the pamphlet, are preserved. From these few, however, and others by Wordsworth and Coleridge, may be derived a fair notion of the circumstances connected with the tract up to the time of its issue, and a not uncharacteristic view of the behavior of the persons concerned.

The letters of May show that Stuart was little in touch with the pamphlet during its actual printing. In all this period, Coleridge was absent from Grasmere.³⁸ Moreover, he was now preoccupied with his plans for the *Friend*, with the composition of the first essays, and with the details of publication for the repeatedly postponed initial number. At Allan Bank the weeks to the end of March were feverish with the labor of composition and correction. Up to June, the household was driven by ups and downs of fear and hope³⁹ regarding the timely appearance of the tract, and the effects of it on public affairs and the poet's own prospects. All were harassed with apprehensions regarding Coleridge and his impracticable and as yet fruitless expenditures and efforts on the still delayed *Friend*. The family was feeling the financial straits that led Wordsworth in April (LWF 1.431-2) seriously to contemplate taking up newspaper work to eke out a living. In addition to the ordinary domestic duties and the trials imposed by the defective house, early and late Mary, Dorothy, and Sara Hutchinson encouraged and quieted the agitated poet, and sought to keep the peace with De Quincey by affectionate letters to him and by remonstrances with the impatient author. With Wordsworth they discussed his developing ideas; and from his dictation they took the fresh paragraphs and the additions and corrections that his constitutional incapacity for extended penmanship prevented him from writing with his own hand.

Wordsworth, as well as De Quincey, realized the importance of

³⁸ In a letter to Stuart posted on March 31 (LLP 337), Wordsworth says he has not seen Coleridge "this month past." To Poole he wrote on March 30, "Coleridge has not been here this month" (Knight, *Life of Wordsworth*, 2. 134.) On May 25, he wrote (LLP 346), "It is nearly three months since he left us, and I have not heard from him lately."

³⁹ See LWF 1. 431-2, 459 ¶ 2, 450 ¶¶ 3-4, 464; LLP 334 ¶ 2, 353 ¶ 2.

expedition. When De Quincey left Grasmere on February 16 or 17, it was evidently understood that the later parts of the "copy" should be sent to him very soon. Over-fearful of dereliction, De Quincey went directly to London, hurrying through Oxford, and arriving at the metropolis after a very unpleasant journey. There he waited a week before receiving any communication from Grasmere. The story is told in Dorothy's letter (LWF 1.394) to him of "Tuesday," February 28 (see above, note 37):

"Two things we grieved for; your miserable cold ride on the outside of the coach, and that you should not have felt yourself at liberty to stay at Oxford for rest, and for arranging any business that you might have there. After this hurrying it would be very mortifying to you to have to wait day after day for our letters, even a whole week, for our earliest despatches could not reach you till last Saturday. I have explained the cause of this delay. My brother was indeed very poorly, his head having been continually tormented, and especially upon his pillow at night with those dreadful headaches, which you know he, in his gloomy way, calls apoplectic. He is now very well, and after he once got forward with his work, he went on rapidly with perpetual animation. Do tell us how you like the conclusion. Mary and I thought the whole was written with great dignity; but we, as well as my brother, could not help regretting that he had not more time to reconsider it. You know he never likes to trust anything away fresh from the brain. He is now engaged in making an addition to one paragraph, which is to be transcribed on the other side of this sheet. I hope he will have done in time to save this day's post (Tuesday); otherwise I fear the types will be arranged by the printer, and you and he will have a great deal of trouble."

But a postscript tells that the poet could not finish in time; "therefore I send this to beg that you will *stop the Press* at the words 'career in the fulness of—.' The addition will be about a folio sheet. He sent off yesterday a letter with two or three corrections, addressed to you at Marybone.⁴⁰ . . . I hope your troubles and perplexities in this affair will end with this."

So, what at the time seemed to Wordsworth the concluding passages of the tract, had been sent to reach De Quincey by Saturday, February 25. Several corrections had been forwarded on the 27th; an additional paragraph was to follow.

The statement in Dorothy's letter that Wordsworth was "making an addition to one paragraph," and the urgent "*stop the Press* at

⁴⁰ Japp (*De Quincey Memorials*, 1. 149 ff.) shows that most of the letters were addressed to 82 Great Titchfield Street, Cavendish Square, where De Quincey stayed from early in this sojourn in London.

the words 'career in the fulness of—,' " show that this paragraph—the fifth from the end of the tract as printed—was not the concluding paragraph on February 28. The addition then preparing was to cover "about a folio sheet." If it was sent, and not later deleted, it was the matter in the fourth paragraph from the end of the final text—that concluding with Palafox, which would in manuscript make about a folio sheet.

The date of composition of the last three paragraphs of the tract as printed, is hard to fix positively. At first sight these would appear to be the conclusion before which on February 28 was to be inserted the Palafox paragraph just indicated. But confusion is caused by Wordsworth's letters of March 27 (see below, note 42) and 29. In the former (LWF 1.407), Wordsworth wrote De Quincey, "As to concluding with a quotation, I don't know how to get over that; it could not conclude with the paragraph before, the simile not being sufficiently upon a level with ordinary imagination. Does what you will now find added require an alteration in the first words of the last paragraph?" The quotation is apparently one or both of those in the last two paragraphs of the final draft. The "simile" is apparently that in the third paragraph from the end. But in this same letter (LWF 1.410), he writes, "N. B. If Austria should not appear to join in the war, the two last paragraphs will require a slight alteration, an 'if' or something that you can easily give." These two last paragraphs are evidently the fifth and the fourth (the Palafox) from the end of the final draft. Again, on the 29th (LWF 1.404 ¶ 1), he says, "The concluding paragraph need not be altered on account of Palafox's reported death." This is the fourth paragraph from the end of the final draft. Hence, on March 27, Wordsworth was thinking of the Palafox paragraph as the concluding one, while in the same letter he assumed an end consisting of a "simile" paragraph followed by some quotation. His remark about smoothing the connections suggests that here, as at other times, he had not by him, and perhaps could not find, the passages in question. He put the burden of settling the matter on the "orderly" De Quincey. Of course, the confusion at this point may be due partly to a misplacing by Knight of the N. B. passage in the letter of the 27th. The passage *may*, with what follows it, belong to another letter.⁴¹

⁴¹ Compare the difference in locating parts of letters in LWF 1. 448, 449, 454-5, and LLP 344, 348, 350, 351. See note 86.

Dorothy concluded her letter of February 28, "I hope your troubles and perplexities in this affair will end with this." But, apparently, the greatest difficulties were to follow. So far as I can find, there have been published no letters of the Wordsworths or De Quincey between this letter and the group of March 26 and the days thereafter (to De Quincey, LWF Nos. 184, 188, 189, 187; to Wrangham, LWF No. 196; to Poole, Knight's *Life of Wordsworth* 2.134; to Stuart, LLP 333, LWF No. 190). The text of this group of letters shows, however, that a number of letters were exchanged during the month's interval. Of a set of "four letters sent off together" (LWF 1.398 ¶ 3) before the 27th (see note 49), at least one (that containing the "couple of sentences"), and probably all, must be missing.

We have seen that Stuart had much trouble with Wordsworth's "copy" for the *Courier*. The group of letters enumerated shows that many changes must have been made by the author before March 26, necessitating queries by De Quincey. Just how important and numerous these modifications were, we cannot determine in the absence of letters from February 28 to March 26.

During this period, however, an extensive and significant insertion was conceived of and completed. On March 27,⁴² Wordsworth apologized to De Quincey for not sending "copy" sooner. "I have been long in sending the rest," he continued, "because I thought by straining a point I might be able to say in the present publication all that was necessary. Accordingly, I wrote a great deal, but I have been obliged to give up the plan, and send what you will find, suppressing as much as I have sent. In fact I was exhausted in bodily strength. As the Duke of York's business is over, there is now a fair opening for a little of the public attention. Besides, I was very uneasy at the thought of detaining you in London."

⁴² LWF 1. 405, No. 188, headed by Knight, "Postmark, [March 30th, 1809.]" Here (409 ¶ 1) is the first mention of "a passage" in the *Moniteur*. This shows that the letter precedes No. 189, which refers (413 ¶ 4) to "the passage" in the *Moniteur*. The Postscript of No. 189 is dated "Tuesday"—i. e., March 28. No. 188 also bids (406 ¶ 1) cancel the page with the [Saragossa] footnote. No. 187, dated March 29, follows this, for it mentions "the page which you will have been obliged to cancel with the footnote" (404 ¶ 1). The opening passages of the two show that this letter (188) follows No. 184, which is of March 26 and 27 (see below, note 45). It is, then, evident that it is to be dated March 27.

The facts become more clear from Wordsworth's letter (LLP 333-4) to Stuart, written March 26, and, according to LLP, "Posted March 31, 1809":

"Yesterday I sent off the last sheets of the pamphlet.⁴³ I have entitled it 'Concerning the Relations of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, to each other and to the Common Enemy at this crisis, and specifically as affected by the Convention of Cintra; the whole brought to the test of those principles, &c.' As I found the *public mind* so completely engrossed with the Duke of York, I thought it better to avail myself of that opportunity to add general matter to the pamphlet, concerning the hopes of the Spaniards and principles of the contest; so that, from the proportion of Spain which it occupied in the work, the Convention of Cintra might fairly appear, what in truth it is in my mind, an action dwelt upon only for the sake of illustrating principles, with a view to promote liberty and good policy; in the manner in which an anatomist illustrates the laws of organic life from a human subject before him and his audience."

The situation is pretty clear. Wordsworth had been contemplating another pamphlet to be published as a "second part." Soon after sending off the "conclusion" at the end of February, reluctant to let the tract stand, he caught at the idea of the public's preoccupation with the Duke of York scandal,⁴⁴ and notified De Quincey that he would add a long insertion. Through this addition he hoped to present adequately the larger views that he had intended from the beginning to present (see letter of December 3), but the fuller development of which he had determined to leave largely to the "second part." Until the last week of March, he labored on this insertion with the passion that accompanied all his literary efforts. This extended application produced the usual suffering and exhaustion. His sense of the need for a timely appearance of the pamphlet revived. The public interest in the Duke's case was abating. De Quincey was waiting in London with a patience that begot lively self-accusation in the author, and probably aroused the

⁴³ As the "copy" went off on March 25 (see note 45), this letter was written on the 26th.

⁴⁴ Mary Anne Clarke, mistress of the Duke of York, Commander-in-chief of the British Army, had obtained money from officers on promise of her influence toward their advancement. On January 27, 1809, Colonel Wardle brought the matter before the Commons. A committee investigated the case. The Duke was shown not to be guilty of actually corrupt practices, but he resigned his office on March 18. The affair filled the prints, and "raised a cloud of pamphlets." See *D. N. B.*, 20. 234-5, 10. 436-7; *State Trials*, 29. 550.

remonstrances of the household. Hopeless of doing all that he saw to be done, Wordsworth selected and fitted together about half of what he had composed for the insertion, and, on Saturday, March 25,⁴⁵ sent off the "copy." Discouraged, he wrote De Quincey, "The title-page need not state 'first part.' I do not wish to engage myself so far, having now said so much."⁴⁶

The four published letters to De Quincey enable us to identify the insertion as it stands in the printed text. On March 27 (see note 42), Wordsworth writes (LWF 1.406), "The great body of additions made, since the conclusion was sent [*i. e.*, in February, see above, page 35], will begin in this manner, after some expression like this which I cannot recollect, 'administered as the old Monarchy of Spain.'" He continues in a new paragraph, "But I began with hope, and hope goes along with me. 'In Madrid, in Ferrol,' etc. I cannot find the passage in my MS. Therefore if anything be wanting to smooth the junction, you will be so kind as to add it. . . . The first direction given⁴⁷ for the insertions is therefore set aside; it would indeed there have been quite out of its place, so near the conclusion. Any expressions [evidently in the part preceding the insertion] which lead the reader to expect the conclusion too soon, such as 'parting look,' etc., etc., you will of course omit."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See LWF 1. 390, No. 184. Knight mislocates this letter, but suggests (following Mr. Gordon Wordsworth) that it may not have been written till February, 1809. The postscript is dated "Monday morning." The opening two lines of the letter show that it belongs to the same period as Letters 187, 188, 189, 196, and LLP 333—*i. e.*, the last days of March. At 391 ¶ 3 Wordsworth asks De Quincey to inquire whether Stuart approves of printing the Convention and the Armistice in the Appendix. In No. 187 (399 l. 1) he tells him that Stuart has approved of the printing of the documents. Letter No. 187 is dated "Wed. Evening, 29th March." Hence the Monday postscript of No. 184 was written March 27, and the body of the letter on Sunday, March 26. The "last sheet," "sent off yesterday," was sent on Saturday, March 25.

⁴⁶ LWF 1. 410 end. But the printed tract shows in the midst of the insertion that he held till a late date the idea of another part: "Upon a future occasion (if what has been now said meets with attention) I shall point out the steps by which the practice of life may be lifted up towards these high precepts" (1809, 186 ¶ 4; G, 170 ¶ 4; K, 273 ¶ 4; Oxf, 189 ¶ 2). See also the fifth sentence of the paragraph next following that just quoted from.

⁴⁷ Evidently in one of the missing letters.

⁴⁸ De Quincey did delete such expressions save two (see note 46).

"Does what you will now find added require an alteration in the first words of the last paragraph? I ask this question because I cannot find the MS." On the 29th (LWF 1.398 ¶ 2), fearful that his "bad penmanship may have rendered the direction unintelligible," he gives the same location for the insertion. "In Madrid" is "to be preceded by a couple of sentences" already forwarded "in the last of the four letters [see above, page 37] sent off together."

The long insertion opened, then, with "But I began with hope . . ." (1809, 156 ¶ 2; G, 148 ¶ 2; K, 246 ¶ 2; Oxf, 157 ¶ 2). The "sentences" referred to are the first sentences of this paragraph. The letter containing them is missing.⁴⁹ The long insertion appears to have concluded at farthest with the end of 1809, 188 ¶ 1; G, 171 ¶ 2; K, 274 ¶ 1; Oxf, 190 ¶ 1. The paragraph following this is the fifth from the end of the printed tract.⁵⁰ It begins, "I have announced the feelings of those who hope, . . ."; and ends, ". . . the other begin a career in the fulness of her joy." This was in De Quincey's hands when Dorothy wrote him on February 28 (LWF 1.398; see above, page 35), ". . . stop the Press at the words 'career in the fulness of—.' The addition will be about a folio sheet."

This paragraph and its beginning as it stands in the final text, fit on well to the last two⁵¹ paragraphs (beginning, 1809, 154 ¶ 1; G, 146 ¶ 2; K, 244 ¶ 2; Oxf, 155 ¶ 2)—indeed, rather to the last four paragraphs⁵² (beginning, 1809, 150 ¶ 2; G, 144 ¶ 2; K,

⁴⁹ As the first of the "couple of sentences" is quoted in the letter of the 27th, the "four letters" were sent before that date. The "couple of sentences" are not the two quoted for insertion in LWF 1. 412 last ¶. These latter two were to be inserted at 1809, 166 l. 6; G, 155 l. 16; K, 255 l. 13; Oxf, 167 last line.

⁵⁰ On the date of the last four paragraphs, see above, page 36.

⁵¹ The former of these paragraphs should be read for an example of the numerous parallels citable for the famous end of Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address*.

⁵² The earliest of these four paragraphs has the passage, "This moment (while I am drawing towards a conclusion) I learn, from the newspaper reports, that the House of Commons has refused to declare that the Convention of Cintra disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation." The next paragraph discusses this motion, and ends with the transition to the "brighter region" of "hopes." These two paragraphs were written a few days after the rejection by the Commons on February 21 (see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1809, April, l. 354-5) of the motion in question. They were evidently sent to De Quincey with the "conclusion" to arrive in London on February 25 (see above, page 35).

241 ¶ 2; Oxf, 152 ¶ 2)—of the passage preceding the long insertion. Confirmation of the point indicated as the conclusion of the insertion, is afforded in the passages (1809, 179 ¶ 2, 180 ¶ 2; 165 ¶ 2, 3; K, 267 ¶¶ 2, 3; Oxf, 181 ¶ 2, 182 ¶ 2) on the two sieges of Saragossa. The second siege began on December 20, 1808. On January 27, 1809, the invaders entered the city, but were fought from house to house till capitulation was forced on February 20.⁵³ Wordsworth is clearly writing well after the news of the house-to-house fighting and the capitulation—indeed, his phrase “after another resistance of nearly three months” suggests that he was here writing well toward the middle of March at earliest. The letter of March 27 (LWF 1.406 ll. 3, 9) shows that the matter on the two sieges had just been sent to De Quincey. But the whole body of the insertion, as we have defined it, is a unit in its thought as well as in the links of its expression.

The long insertion made up, then, thirty-two pages, or one-sixth, of the printed text of 1809. The passage is one of the finest in the book. Its passionate glorification of the Spanish resistance as an embodiment of the unconquerable and ever to be revered spirit of right, of freedom, and of national independence, indeed accomplishes the purpose that the poet defined to Stuart, raising the reader from the lower grounds of debate on the Convention to the heights and larger prospects of exalted political and moral power and vision. Of this success Henry Crabb Robinson showed immediate evidence when, in his review of the book, he gave such high praise particularly to the latter part of the pamphlet.⁵⁴ More striking evidence of the importance of this passage for the tract itself and for the history of political philosophy, is afforded in Professor Dicey's article and book on the statesmanship of Wordsworth. These point out the vital import of Wordsworth's political views in the Great War, and declare that the successes and the failures of English foreign policy during the nineteenth century are practically coincident with adoption and rejection of these views, which are chiefly formulated in the Cintra pamphlet. Apparently unaware of the long insertion as such, Professor Dicey has paraphrased and quoted certain passages of the tract as funda-

⁵³ *Ency. Brit.*, 11th Edit., s. v., *Saragossa*; Napier, *Hist. of the Peninsular War*, Bk. 5, Ch. 2.

⁵⁴ *London Review*, 1809, 2. 250 ff.

mental to the exposition of these views. All of these,⁵⁵ except three of minor extent, are in the long insertion.

By delaying the publication for some weeks, the insertion contributed to the failure of the tract with the public; and so, to the ruin of the plan for the second pamphlet. We have seen that the insertion was about half of what Wordsworth had actually written in a hurried attempt to express the underlying conceptions of the second part. Had that work appeared, then, it would have been an impassioned formulation and advocacy of large and essential principles, finding their practical embodiment in the national independence of each people, and their bases in the fundamental constitution and needs of human nature. What a tremendous enunciation of vital moral and political truth would have been the fruit of the stress and the incitement of the composition of this second work!

Though no mention of the fact is made in the printed correspondence, the shift in emphasis in the tract that we have just seen, led Wordsworth to send to De Quincey directions for a title-page to displace one already set up. This new title-page was probably that ("less a Title than a Table of Contents," wrote Wordsworth to Wrangham, LWF 1.427) of the tract as published: "Concerning / The Relations / of / Great Britain, / Spain, and Portugal, / to each other, and to the common enemy, / at this crisis; / and specifically as affected by / the / Convention of Cintra; / *The whole brought to the test of those Principles, by which / alone the Independence and Freedom of Nations / can be Preserved or Recovered.* / Qui didicit patriæ quid debeat;— / Quod sit conscripti, quod judicis officium; quæ / Partes in bellum missi ducis. / By William Wordsworth. / London: / Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, / Paternoster-row. / 1809."

In 1916, Thomas J. Wise announced his possession of a copy of the pamphlet with the following title-page: "Concerning / the / Convention of Cintra, / in relation to / The Principles by which the Independence of / Nations must be Preserved or Recovered. /

⁵⁵ Dicey, *Statesmanship of Wordsworth*, Oxford, 1917, 81, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, quoting and paraphrasing the tract of 1809, 165 ¶ 2-168 ¶ 2; 166 ll. 6-12, 166 l. 2 from end to end of ¶; 154 ¶ 1 ll. 5 ff., 160 ¶ 2 s. 2; 169-70; 113-15, 148 ll. 21-29; 162; 162, 163, 166-68. As these references can be used only with Professor Dicey's text, the pages in the reprints are not given.

London: / Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme. / Paternoster Row. / 1809.”⁵⁶ Mr. Wise printed a reduced photographic facsimile of this page. He stated that he knew of only one other copy, which was shown him by a London bookseller in the summer of 1915. Mr. Wise has informed me that the bookseller is Dobell, and has identified my unique De Quincey copy (see below, page 68), purchased of Dobell in 1915, as the one containing the second copy of the rejected title.

Comparison of this title-page with the other titles given in the correspondence, and with that of the final issue (see pages 23, 26-7, 38, 42; and below, page 48) enables one to locate it in the series. It agrees closest with the heading of the first *Courier* article (see above, page 26). It clearly antedates the title quoted in the correspondence of March 26-April 3 (see below, page 48). That Wordsworth quoted so much of the final title to Stuart on the 26th (LLP 333), indicates that the change was very recent, and had not been known to Stuart. The shift in emphasis in the tract produced by the long insertion sent off on March 25, is just what would produce a change in title such as took place between the earlier printed page and the title finally published. The presence of the rejected page in at least two copies of the tract, also shows that the change was late. My copy of this title is inserted before the substituted final title. It is stabbed, just as are the other leaves of the various copies of the tract.⁵⁷ Further, directions for the new title were given probably in one of the set of four missing letters sent off together just before March 27 (see note 49). On March 27 (LWF 1.410), Wordsworth remarked to De Quincey, “The title-page need not state ‘first part.’” Again, Dorothy’s letter of Sunday, April 9 (LWF 1.420) implies that at that time the poet had been agitatedly discussing whether or not De Quincey would be printing “Author of the L. B.” on the title-page. All of this confirms the view that the final title was substituted at about the time the long insertion was sent to London, or at least not long before that time.

It is interesting to imagine the state of mind of De Quincey on

⁵⁶ *Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of William Wordsworth*, London. Printed for Private Circulation Only by Richard Clay & Sons, Ltd., 1916, 72.

⁵⁷ Wise, *Bibliography*, 75.

the receipt of the long insertion of March 25 and the series of letters, with their many commissions, that followed close upon it. He was evidently in the midst of the press-work with a printing office more or less exasperated by delays and alterations, himself distressed by many difficulties in the work, and agitated with anticipations of new modifications sure to come from Allan Bank. Moreover, he had been suffering from toothache and other physical afflictions (LWF 1.454 l. 4, *et al.*) that had long tormented him, and that were preparing for the agonies of the later years. To his natural zeal for accuracy and for perfection of form, was added the ardent anxiety of a young man to satisfy the demands of the older friend whom he so admired. The "copy" was not good, the writing was sometimes hard to make out, the punctuation was irregular and defective, the expression occasionally broke off in the midst. It was his office to make all this good. On his own initiative he was, at need, to coördinate the matter, to fill in minor gaps, to supply missing connectives, to smoothe out irregular transitions, and to fit in the numerous alterations promiscuously sent by the author without adequate indications for identification, often with deficient knowledge of the context, and with an ignoring of the practical conditions of printing. Before De Quincey left Grasmere, it had evidently been agreed that he should add in an appendix such notes as seemed in his judgment desirable. All this he was expected to do with great speed. His position was not enviable. The poet's minimizing of minor matters like spelling (LWF 1.398 ¶ 3), his knowledge of the author, as well as his own inclination, forbade him to take seriously. Though the letters are missing, it is but fair to assume—indeed, the indications in the extant letters of queries and changes by De Quincey prove it—that the mails had brought him during the first weeks of March many corrections made hit or miss through the various parts of the text in his hands. Now came a cycle of letters, each with a number of modifications. The four letters extant from March 26-31, comprise a total of eighteen pages in print. The missing four could not have been brief.

The conditions that have been indicated; the confusion of the poet's papers at Allan Bank; his constant weighing of phrase and idea as he pondered, now here, now there, the scattered leaves; his insertions and modifications of minute particulars of thought

and expression; and his unconsciousness of the labors that he was imposing on De Quincey—all these are evident to the reader of the letters of the last days of March. The difficulties in making alterations in handwritten “copy” from directions sent by mail, are great in themselves. But, just as Dorothy on February 28 held it sufficient to say that her brother is “making an insertion in one paragraph,” and to add in a postscript, “. . . stop the *Press* at the words ‘career in the fulness of—’”, so these later letters exhibit Wordsworth’s practice of ordering changes with still more meagre directions for identification—often, indeed, adjoining without separation corrections to be distinguished only by slight catch-phrases in passages quite isolated in thought, and tens of pages apart from each other.⁵⁸ At times the poet did not know just what he had written;⁵⁹ he could not find in his own manuscript at Allan Bank the passage in question—as when he declared, “I cannot find the passage in my MS.”; and, again, “I cannot find the MS.”⁶⁰ De Quincey’s admiration must have been put to it to enable him to be patient with a practice that the author at least once (LWF 1.408) admitted: “I am obliged to put things down just as they come into my memory; but, as I know your habits of order, I can trust to you for correcting this.” Add to all this the fact that, as Wordsworth once declared, frequently the poet’s “bad penmanship may have rendered the direction unintelligible” (LWF 1.398; see also 1.446); and that the manuscript was written by at least three persons. Well might the author apologize (LWF 1.406), “I am afraid you will have had endless trouble about the alterations, small and great,” and declare (LWF 1.446), even though grudgingly and out of a forced politeness, of the printing, “. . . indeed I am surprised how you have been able to get it done so correctly.” However familiar De Quincey was with the “copy” and the writing, he must have had many unnecessary distresses that can be appreciated only by one who has been trying (as has the present writer) to track down the extant corrections by means of a text that is in print.

⁵⁸ *E. g.*, LWF 1. 404 ¶ 1, 406-410, 412-3.

⁵⁹ *E. g.*, LWF 1. 391, 399, 406 ¶¶ 2-3, 407 ¶ 1, 408 ¶ 2 end, 409 ¶ 2, 417 near end, 423 ¶ 4; LLP 342, 344, misquotation (see below, page 53), in vital passages.

⁶⁰ LWF 1. 406-7. See also Coleridge’s statements, LLP 155 ¶2, 157 top.

It may be of interest, and perhaps of importance ultimately, to indicate and locate the alterations ordered in these four letters. A reading of the correspondence at the points noted will afford illustrations of the statements that have just been made.

On March 26 (see note 45), the day after the posting of the long insertion, were sent (LWF 1.390) two minor changes (1809, 184 ll. 12 ff., 187 ll. 13 ff.; G, 168 ll. 5 from end ff., 171 ll. 6-8; K, 271 ll. 15 ff., 274 ll. 2 ff.; Oxf, 186 ll. 18 ff., 189 l. 20). The former of these did not finally appear as suggested.

On the 27th (see note 42), the poet directed (LWF 1.405 ¶ 2) the cancellation of a page with a footnote on Saragossa prepared by De Quincey partly to show that the passage in question was composed long after the earlier part of the tract. Then followed a suggestion (406 ¶ 4) of a note in the Appendix on the bulletin of the French on Saragossa. A query succeeds (406 ¶ 2) as to material which De Quincey actually incorporated in Appendix D of the tract; and another change, which I cannot locate, is ordered. There come next directions (406 ¶¶ 2, 3; evidently because of obscurity in earlier directions) for the proper location of the long insertion, with a suggestion that De Quincey modify the context to make it conform with the insertion; the poet cannot give accurate directions because he cannot find his MS. Then follows a request (407 ¶ 1) that De Quincey write a note for the Appendix (done in Appendix E) after looking up a passage in a copy of the *Courier* that the poet cannot find or identify. The author also wishes (407 ¶ 1) his friend to verify all the quotations forwarded for use in Appendix A. He sends (407 ¶ 2) for the "Advertisement" a passage that De Quincey incorporated as the third paragraph, only substituting "changes" for "a change." Then follow two more slight modifications (1809, 133 ll. 14-5, 167 l. 11; G, 131 ll. 14 ff., 156 l. 10; K, 226 l. 20, 256 l. 12; Oxf, 134 l. 29, 169 l. 4). He next proposes (408 ¶ 4) the preparation of a note making clear his favorable impression of General Ferguson's conduct (1809, 142 note; G, 138 note; K, 234 note; Oxf, 143 note), reverting again to the note on the French bulletin at length. He adds (410 ¶ 4) a possible change (1809, 188 ¶ 2, 189 ¶ 2; G, 171 ¶ 2, 172 ¶ 2; K, 274 ¶ 2, 275 ¶ 2; Oxf, 190 ¶ 2, 191 ¶ 2) in case Austria does not join in the war; and gives directions that the title-page "need not state 'first part.'" To all this he adds

suggestions as to the distribution of copies of the pamphlet to various persons. Stuart must be consulted. The letter "is a miserable jumble, and my head a perfect chaos." Will not De Quincey "contrive to inspirit" a note that he sends? To all these follows a postscript relieving De Quincey of a previous commission to call for a certain poem, for it is come. But there are directions to send a copy of the tract to Monkhouse, and one to the author of the *Narrative of the Siege of Saragossa*, in hope that he may get a part of the pamphlet translated into Spanish.

Was it accident, or was it her knowledge of the dispiriting contents of this letter, that caused "Your ever-affectionate Dorothy Wordsworth" to add a postscript beginning and ending, "My dear friend," and having for its body only a few lines about the recovery from measles of Thomas and the baby Catherine, who, as De Quincey later declared, was to him "an impersonation of the dawn and the spirit of infancy"? ⁶¹

On the next day, March 28th,⁶² "not a little jeered" by his family, Wordsworth sends four more changes (1809, 166 l. 5, 178 l. 13, 179 l. 5, 179 l. 12; G, 155 l. 16, 164 l. 18, 165 l. 1, 165 l. 6; K, 255 l. 12, 266 l. 6, 266 l. 32, 266 last l.; Oxf, 167 last l., 180 l. 17, 181 l. 9, 181 l. 16); and begs De Quincey to "mend that stupid part of the note" on the French bulletin sent on the 27th.

On the 29th, with Miss Hutchinson as amanuensis, he sends a very long letter (LWF 1.398) again giving directions (398 ¶ 3) for the location of the long insertion—for his "bad penmanship may have rendered the direction unintelligible." He bids De Quincey print the Armistice and the Convention in the Appendix, having learned of Stuart's approval, which he had asked (LWF 1.391) De Quincey to inquire about. He now withdraws (399 ¶ 1) all the proposed note on the French bulletin, but suggests that De Quincey may well write something about it. He proposes (400 ¶ 2) that De Quincey write a long note (for which he offers suggestions and an extended comment) on the letters of Sir John Moore (see pamphlet, *Postscript on Sir John Moore's*

⁶¹ Masson ed., *Collected Writings*, Edinburgh, 1889, 2. 443.

⁶² LWF 1. 412, No. 189, posted March 31, 1809. I have shown that this letter follows No. 184, which is of March 26-27 (see note 45). Its postscript, dated "Tuesday Noon," was written, then, Tuesday, March 28, and its body perhaps on the 27th.

Letters). Since he has seen but four of these, he cannot himself write the note. He suggests (404 ¶ 1) that the cancelled Saragossa footnote (see above) be displaced by a footnote of "two words"—i. e., "written in January" (actually entered "Written in February"—1809, 120; G, 121; K, 214; Oxf, 121).

Wordsworth would seem to have been sufficiently occupied with all this matter. But in the midst of the revision, he undertook to circulate news of the pamphlet by correspondence with friends. He had already given directions to De Quincey and Stuart for sending copies to several persons of eminence likely to be interested. "A day or two" after March 25th⁶³ (see note 45), he writes to Wrangham of the approaching publication, of his fears that the tract will not be read, and of his assurance that if read it will do "some good," though he is aware it will create him "a world of enemies, and call forth the old yell of Jacobinism." He quotes the title of the pamphlet: "*Concerning the Relations of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, to each other, and to the common Enemy, at this crisis, and specifically as affected by the Convention of Cintra; the whole brought to the test of those Principles by which alone the Independence and Freedom of Nations can be Preserved or Recovered.*" To Poole he writes⁶⁴ on March 30 that he has expected no pecuniary profit from the book—"but for truth's sake and liberty's I should be happy to receive any observations or elucidations which it may suggest to you." Knight says this letter has the "long title," but he does not print the title. To Stuart Wordsworth wrote (LLP 333) the day (March 26) after sending the long insertion. After quoting as far as "Principles, &c.," the title he gave to Wrangham, he mentions the reasons for the long delay in getting off "copy." "I confess I have no hopes of the thing making any impression. The style of thinking and feeling is so little in the spirit of the age." And he urges Stuart to develop any opening for having at least parts of the tract translated into Spanish (see also LWF 1.411 ¶ 2). Will not Stuart go over the proofs for "any error, either as to fact or reasoning, that can be obviated or apologized for . . . by preface,

⁶³ LWF 1. 426, dated by Knight "(April, 1809)." The *Memoirs* (1. 388) and Grosart (3. 257) print the whole letter, dating it, "Workington, April 3, 1809."

⁶⁴ Knight, *Life of Wordsworth*, 2. 134.

note, or erratum"? These three letters when printed make up ten pages.

Having now got off the "copy," Wordsworth had little to do but await with growing impatience the issue of the book. In a letter (LWF 1.455) to Poole of May 31 (see note 87), he stated that, at the date of his letter of March 30, "a hundred pages were printed off." With little realization of the conditions, he was expecting the pamphlet to appear "in less than a fortnight" (LWF 1.427 l. 1; *Knight Life* 2.134).

Besides that to Wrangham (see above), but four letters of April are printed—three to De Quincey, and one to Stuart. Dorothy's letter of the 5th (LWF 1.416) reveals her in all her warm devotion. She has been working hard at the "dear cottage," full with passionate memories of the years there with her brother, to prepare his new home for De Quincey. She has been doing her best to quiet the well-meant apprehensions of Mrs. Kelsall of Manchester, who has been "plaguing" her and De Quincey with admonitions regarding the use of the materials for the cottage that she has been sending on. She has been reading at the sheaf of dull pamphlets that De Quincey has forwarded, and is quite impatient with the *Klopstock Letters*, evidently from the same parcel. And, with kind thoughtfulness, she has been suppressing the promise that the generous De Quincey has just made of a new carriage for John, which is to follow the gift of children's books recently received as a delightful addition to the numbers already sent on by their friend.⁶⁵ But all of this warm and kind letter is really to salve a hurt of De Quincey. Three letters have just come from him, with inquiries, among others, concerning several strange lapses in the "copy." But the great trouble is the distress of the sensitive editor because of Wordsworth's remarks in rejecting the note on *Saragossa*.⁶⁶ William is absent from home; but earnestly Dorothy assures De Quincey that her brother's expression must surely have been due to haste or negligence, and certainly not to intent or lack of confidence. It is quite obvious that, as in the case of other alterations, she has but little sympathy with the poet's

⁶⁵ The letters indicate that De Quincey was steadily sending, or offering to send, gifts to the children—LWF 1. 418, 420, 435, 472.

⁶⁶ The letter with this matter is perhaps missing, though it may be LWF 1. 405 ¶ 2.

boggling over unimportant small details. "Oh, how I shall rejoice for your sake, and for the sake of your poor head and eyes, when the pamphlet is fairly published! Till then I cannot be easy, for I shall never feel sure that William will not have some changes to make."

It is very evident that De Quincey had expressed with feeling his disturbance regarding the cancellation of the note, which had necessitated cancellation of a sheet (LWF 1.417 l. 5); and had shown distress from Wordsworth's manner in his letter, and his seeming injustice to De Quincey's views on the theme in question. That the poet was impatient over the remonstrance, and quite assured of De Quincey's unreasonableness, is shown in the extended, but rather stiff, explanation and expression of sympathy in the matter that he wrote De Quincey on Friday, April 7 (LWF 1.421). This inference is borne out by his delay of two days⁶⁷ before making the reply. He now explains rather carefully why he wishes a new correction—the omission of the word "Corunna."

Something of the poet's state of mind is to be gathered from Dorothy's letter of Sunday, April 9⁶⁸ (LWF 1.420). He had evidently been disturbed over the possibility that De Quincey had not got the title-page right, and would also bungle the "Corunna." It is fair to imagine that Dorothy, and perhaps Mary also, had been urging him to let the matter be—fearful of more trials for De Quincey, and possibly of the poet's writing something that would further disturb the sensitive editor. Dorothy takes the matter into her hands, in her own name tactfully conveying the message, and, without direct criticism of her brother, letting her sympathy with De Quincey appear. ". . . I think it best to write a few lines for your satisfaction, though whether the pamphlet be published or not, there is no *necessity* for writing, as I do not think it likely that you would have 'Author of the L. B.,' printed in the title-page, which must by no means be done. My brother

⁶⁷ He was away on a visit to Penrith and Workington from Friday, March 31, to Wednesday, April 5 (LWF 1. 421 ¶ 3; *Memoirs* 1. 388).

⁶⁸ Headed "Sunday Afternoon, April, 1809." Sunday was the 9th. The references to Coleridge's visit to Workington Hall (417, 421) indicate that the letter follows that of Wednesday, the 5th. It also follows Wordsworth's letter (LWF 1. 421) of Friday, the 7th, for it shows the poet has been at home—and he returned Wednesday. The directions for "Corunna" (420 ¶ 1, 424) show the same.

approves of your manner of disposing of General Ferguson. Let the 'Corunna' be omitted. I fear your labours will not be over to-morrow; but soon you must have rest, and we shall all be thankful. You have indeed been a treasure to us while you have been in London, having spared my brother so much anxiety and care. We are very grateful for your kindness." It is clear that at Allan Bank they were expecting the printing to be done within a few days.

With this, Wordsworth seems to have given up changing the text. Evidently, from now on, his irritation with his editor grew as the days passed. Apparently, little was written to De Quincey in the next weeks, for on the 28th there came a letter from him regretting that he had not heard from the family "for so long a time" (LWF 1.430). With the workmen again about the house trying to correct the defective chimneys, Wordsworth went back to poetry, which he had abandoned for some months. He set himself successfully to perfecting the *White Doe* for publication the next winter (LWF 1.430-1). Despite these efforts, and Coleridge's assistance in 1808 with corrections,⁶⁹ the poem was not issued till 1815. He was planning also to publish *Peter Bell* and *The Waggoner*, really not to appear till ten years later. He had been talking, and indeed had written to Coleridge, of taking up newspaper work to add to the family purse;⁷⁰ but Coleridge has sent an earnest protest—he can earn enough for them all!

The calm is, however, only on the surface. The pamphlet had not yet appeared. In the last days of April, Wordsworth was exchanging with Coleridge letters of complaint accusing De Quincey of grave delinquency (LLP 155). On the 26th, he asked Stuart (LLP 338) personally to interfere and urge the printer to activity. Stuart evidently saw Baldwin, who appears to have put the blame on De Quincey and the many corrections made (LLP 157 ll. 13 ff.). Coleridge's letter to Stuart of May 2 (LLP 155) opens up the whole matter. De Quincey has written Wordsworth that "the compositor has been drunk"⁷¹ ever since Easter week," absenting himself from the office, and, when present, setting up the matter so badly as to omit "whole sentences"; and

⁶⁹ Knight, *Life*, 2. 100; Campbell, *Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge*, London, 1901, lxxvii ¶ 1.

⁷⁰ On this, see note 32.

⁷¹ See also LLP 338.

Baldwin would not put another man on the job. Coleridge has been making inquiries (LLP 343 ¶ 2). Baldwin complains of "chopping and changing."⁷² De Quincey and Wordsworth declare that "for these last five weeks"⁷³ there has not been the slightest alteration made either in the text or the notes; nor a word altered in the proofs when returned, and only the punctuation in six places!!" But Coleridge is sceptical. He has written Wordsworth twice, very plainly stating that the printer is little to blame. Before De Quincey was given the supervision of the printing, he had seen too much of his "turn of mind, anxious yet dilatory, confused from over accuracy, and at once systematic and labyrinthine, not fully to understand how great a plague he might easily be to a London printer; his natural tediousness made yet greater by his zeal and fear of not discharging his trust; and superadded to Wordsworth's own Sibyl's leaves, blown about by the changeful winds of an anxious author's second thoughts." It is indeed pleasing to hear Coleridge so discourse! "I have written to W. stating honestly my convictions, that he will not find Baldwin so much in the wrong as he now believes, and that he ought to bring before his fancy all his own *copy*, from the beginning of the Work, and compare it in his mind's eye, with the sort of copy, and the mode of receiving it to which Baldwin had probably been accustomed." "That Wordsworth has not been quite pleased with the first letter, and will be still less so with my letter of to-day, I know; . . . not easily to admit oneself to be in fault, is as often the mark of a valuable, as of an obstinate mind." De Quincey is intolerably slow at any work. ". . . I can never retract my expression of vexation and surprise, that W. should have entrusted anything to him, beyond the mere correction of the Proofs. But an unwise anxiety to let nothing escape, has been the rock on which W. has split; whereas had he brought it out, such as it was, he might now have been adding all he wished to a second edition. But so it is! We cannot be perfect." Coleridge himself is too indifferent in his printing. Wordsworth's "is a more rational fault, and linked to better qualities."

So the author, the editor, and the printer, were passing the blame from one to the other—all probably somewhat at fault, but

⁷² See also LLP 343.

⁷³ See also Wordsworth to Stuart, LLP 345.

the author really the original culprit. A sufficient amount of time had elapsed, however, to make possible the remedying of all the fruits of the delinquencies. Evidently the pamphlet was actually at last about to appear.

But, alas! the author was once again to interfere seriously! On May 3, the very day on which, as De Quincey had notified him, the pamphlet was to be issued (LWF 3.469), Wordsworth chanced to read in "an old magazine" "that B. Flower had been fined £100, and committed to Newgate for four months" for a libel on the Bishop of Llandaff (LWF 3.468; LLP 341). "This brought Gilbert Wakefield to my mind, and his four years' imprisonment in Dorsetshire goal." The poet was filled with apprehension: he may have laid himself open to prosecution for the ardent phrases of the tract! He hastened to beseech Stuart,⁷⁴ if the pamphlet was not published, to go over it for passages that might be "made a handle for exercising upon my person a like act of injustice. If any such passages occur, let the leaf be cancelled." Expense is no consideration in such a matter. Let De Quincey or Stuart fill up the gaps that may be caused by any such excisions. The passage from which most is to be apprehended is "what greater punishment could befall men [*sic*! "what punishment could be greater"] than to have brought upon themselves the unreasonable [*sic*! "unremoveable"] contempt and hatred of their countrymen?" (1809, 97 l. 14; G, 104 l. 2 from end; K, 194 l. 8 from end; Oxf, 98 l. 9 from end).⁷⁵ Much of this matter, with added details of the original suggestion of his apprehensions, Wordsworth wrote to Coleridge in the important letter (LWF 4.468)⁷⁶ of the 5th,

"LLP 341. This letter was "Posted May 6, 1809." It was written May 3. Wordsworth expected Stuart to receive it on Saturday, May 6 (LWF 1. 445 ¶ 2), and looked for a reply by Wednesday, the 10th (LWF 1. 443).

⁷⁴It would appear that the motto on the reverse of the title-page of the pamphlet, was a late thought. In this letter to Stuart, Wordsworth quotes (LLP 344) the passage from Bacon's "advertisement concerning Church Controversies." He comments, "Substitute the word Patriot for Christian and the position is equally true, and even more so, inasmuch as we are less liable to be misled about moral duties than points of doctrine." See below, page 56.

⁷⁵"The day before yesterday," Wordsworth was struck with the libel scare, and at once wrote to Stuart. That letter was posted May 6, but written May 3, the day of the scare. The letter to Coleridge, and that

outlining and explaining his scheme for the arrangement of his poems.

On the 5th,⁷⁷ Wordsworth wrote De Quincey of his request to Stuart, expressing his apprehensions, calling attention especially to the passage quoted above, and suggesting that for the passage be substituted the words, "What punishment could be greater than the unalterable sentence already passed on them by the voice of their countrymen?" or any words to that effect to fill up the space." To clinch the matter, he added a postscript, "If the pamphlet is bound up, the leaf must be cancelled."⁷⁸

Not having heard from either De Quincey or Stuart, he writes on the 10th (LWF 1.443)⁷⁹ a long letter to the former, insisting that Stuart "carefully cancel every leaf" that contains matter which he considers actionable. If he have any doubt, let him consult some reliable person. Wordsworth cares little what delay may be caused. One passage⁸⁰ that he has discussed with De Quincey, he fears has not been changed. There is "another strong passage"⁸¹ beginning, "In Sir Hew Dalrymple. . . ." Let Stuart use his judgment—but the "*hatred and contempt*" passage must be cancelled.

of May 5 to De Quincey (LWF 1. 440 l. 9), have other variations (probably misquotations) from the printed text of the dangerous passage, among them "*hatred and contempt*."

"LWF 1. 440. Knight says the postscript to Sara Hutchinson's part of this letter is dated Friday, May 5, and the letter has the postmark "May 8, 1809." Why did he omit the date? Dorothy's letter to De Quincey of Saturday, May 6 (LWF 1. 435), mentions this letter as written by her brother and Miss Hutchinson "yesterday."

⁷⁷ On the outcome of this, see below, pages 59, 76.

⁷⁸ Dated "Wednesday Night." Printed by Japp (*De Quincey Memorials*, 1. 164) as written "a few days later" than the letter of the 5th. Wednesday is May 10. Wordsworth says he expected this night a reply from Stuart or De Quincey or both, apparently to his letters of the 3rd and 5th (see above); and states that Stuart should have received his "first letter" on the libel scare "last Saturday" (1. 445 ¶ 2).

⁷⁹ "Now it was in the character. . ." (1809, 104; G, 109; K, 200; Oxf, 105). The passage had been changed (LLP 346), as Knight shows (LWF 1. 444 note). Japp (*De Quincey Memorials*, 1. 165 note) misquotes Grosart's text in remarking on this passage.

⁸⁰ Changed by adding "and their own weakness," and twice substituting "had" for "have" (1809, 54 l. 8; G, 73 l. 5 from end; K, 157 l. 22; Oxf, 55 l. 22). Japp (*op. cit.* 1. 165 note 2) inaccurately says the passage "stands as originally written."

Wordsworth was evidently in a state of high vocal alarm. The attitude of the women toward most of his alterations, that appears here and there⁸² in the correspondence of the preceding months, is apparent in these days of apprehension. To the letter of May 5, Sara Hutchinson added a postscript (LWF 1.442) beginning, "We females shall be very sorry to find that the pamphlet is not published, for we have not the least fear of Newgate—if there was a garden to walk in, we think we should do very nicely—and a gaol in the country would be quite pleasant. But seriously, I hope that the passage may not be deemed objectionable, for another delay will be most provoking, and put Mr. Baldwin out of all patience with you both." Dorothy's letter of the 6th (LWF 1.435) opens with a wish that the carrier bring them a letter from De Quincey that night. "Would that the pamphlets might come too! William still continues to haunt himself with fancies about Newgate and Dorchester or some other gaol, but as his mind clings to the gloomy, Newgate is his favorite theme. We, however, have no fears, for even if the words be actionable (which I cannot but think they are not), in these times they would not dare to inflict such a punishment."

Apparently only one change resulted from this libel scare. Arrangements were made that the leaf (1809, 97-98) containing the "unremovable contempt and hatred" passage (1809, 97 l. 14; G, 104 l. 2 from end; K, 194 l. 8 from end; Oxf, 98 l. 9 from end), should be removed, and another inserted with a variant ("what punishment could be greater than to have brought upon themselves the sentence passed upon them by the voice of their countrymen?") of the substitute that Wordsworth had proposed.⁸³ The correspondence of the next two weeks after the letter of May 19, is missing.

It seems that the printer finished his work by the 20th.⁸⁴ On the 23rd (LLP 344 ¶ 3; LWF 1.445 ¶ 4), Wordsworth received

⁸² *E. g.*, LWF 1. 412 ¶ 4 l. 1, 418 l. 6 ff., 420 ¶ 1.

⁸³ See below, page 59, for the failure to make the substitution in some copies.

⁸⁴ See LWF 1. 456 ¶ 2 ll. 6, 11, 457 l. 3; LLP 348. De Quincey appears to have determined the date appended to the "Advertisement," "May 20th, 1809," by the date on which the printer finished. It was well to hold the dating till the last moment. Still more changes might have been ordered from Grasmere.

four unstitched copies (LLP 351 ¶ 2) of the pamphlet. On the 24th (LWF 1.445), he wrote De Quincey a rather grudging letter in which he expresses appreciation of the postscript on Sir John Moore's letters. His apprehensions will not let him rest satisfied that the text has been gone over thoroughly enough to assure the removal of all actionable passages. Moreover, though he has not read the tract through, he is irritated to find already some *errata*. Of these the most important is "zeal" for "hate" in the motto prefaced to the pamphlet. Two others—"abuses" for "abusers" (1809, 186 l. 16; G, 170 l. 18; K, 273 l. 9; Oxf, 188 l. 22), and "calenture" for "calenture of fancy" (1809, 184 l. 7 from end; G, 169 l. 12; K, 271 l. 6 from end; Oxf, 187 l. 2)—are important. No doubt the fault rests with omissions or illegible penmanship in the "copy"; "indeed I am surprised how you have been able to get it done so correctly." But the errors are there, and he commissions Miss Hutchinson to draw up a list of twelve slips. He bids her ask De Quincey to send a copy of the book to Lord Lonsdale,⁸⁵ after correcting the errors with a pen.

The "error" in the motto—"character of zeal or love," for "character of hate or love"—which Wordsworth, "sadly grieved," declared (see second paragraph below), "utterly destroys the sole reason for presenting the passage so conspicuously to notice," is interesting. The prints of the original (see note 75) in Bacon's *An Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England* (paragraph 4 or 5, according to the text) usually read, "character of zeal or love" (e.g., Montagu's edition, London, 1827, 7.32; edition printed by Baynes, London, 1824, 2.503). Spedding's *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, London, 1861, 1.76, reads, "character either of zeal or love"; but has a footnote, "either of hate or love: Harl. MS. 3795." In quoting to Stuart the original passage from Bacon (see note 75), Wordsworth wrote, "love or hate"! misquoting, as in the same letter he misquoted the "contempt and hatred" passage (LLP 344; see notes 75, 76, and the text thereto). The passage from Bacon that he had encountered with the Harleian reading so appealed to him that he determined to adopt a motto for the pamphlet, and to adopt this. He or his original omitted "either." Apparently,

⁸⁵ See also the letter to Lonsdale (LWF 3. 395; *Memoirs* 1. 390). On the *errata* list and the ink corrections, see below, pages 72, 74.

Mary or Dorothy copied the passage from another text; or, more probably, De Quincey looked it up in another edition, and changed the "copy." Knight prints, "hate or love," following the Hutchinson *errata* list. Grosart and the Oxford Press read, "zeal or love," for they ignore (see below, page 76) the Hutchinson *errata*.

On the 25th, Wordsworth voiced his feeling against De Quincey to Stuart.⁸⁶ He asserts that De Quincey has been the *occasion*, but not the *cause*, of the delay in publication. Not a syllable in the body of the work has been altered since nearly two months back. De Quincey "must have" insisted upon his punctuation being attended to; and the printer "must have" been put out of humor by this, and therefore refused to go on with the work. Wordsworth's only inducement in giving the supervision to De Quincey was a desire to save time and expense, and to spare Stuart—and he is very sorry that Stuart has been so bothered in the matter.

Chidden by Mrs. Wordsworth for his grudging letter of the 24th, on the 26th Wordsworth wrote De Quincey an epistle (LWF 1.451) intended to be more gracious. The coolness of the former letter arose, as he had replied to Mary, from his assumption that "Mr. De Quincey will do me the justice to believe that, as I knew he was completely master of the subject [Sir John Moore's letters], my expectations would be high; and if I told him that these were answered, what need I or could I say any more?" He compliments him on the handling of Moore's letters. He is "sadly grieved," however, about "that error" in the motto, which "utterly destroys the sole reason for presenting the passage so conspicuously to notice." He regrets that he did not order the pamphlet sent to him before its issue, for he might have been sure that there would be blunders in it. "In spite of all this it is very correctly printed, and the punctuation pleases me much; though there are here and there trifling errors in it. I think, indeed, your plan of punctuation admirable." Not satisfied with this doubtful expiation and attempt to placate, Mrs. Wordsworth found space

⁸⁶ LLP has two letters to Stuart, one of the 25th (344), and one posted May 31 (348). Knight prints parts of these letters. The selections from that of the 25th, he prints as two letters (LWF 1. 448, 449), with the second of these incorporating two paragraphs (LWF 1. 450 ¶¶ 3, 4) from the end of the letter posted on the 31st. I follow the LLP arrangement which appears to be the more authentic.

boggling over unimportant small details. "Oh, how I shall rejoice for your sake, and for the sake of your poor head and eyes, when the pamphlet is fairly published! Till then I cannot be easy, for I shall never feel sure that William will not have some changes to make."

It is very evident that De Quincey had expressed with feeling his disturbance regarding the cancellation of the note, which had necessitated cancellation of a sheet (LWF 1.417 l. 5); and had shown distress from Wordsworth's manner in his letter, and his seeming injustice to De Quincey's views on the theme in question. That the poet was impatient over the remonstrance, and quite assured of De Quincey's unreasonableness, is shown in the extended, but rather stiff, explanation and expression of sympathy in the matter that he wrote De Quincey on Friday, April 7 (LWF 1.421). This inference is borne out by his delay of two days⁶⁷ before making the reply. He now explains rather carefully why he wishes a new correction—the omission of the word "Corunna."

Something of the poet's state of mind is to be gathered from Dorothy's letter of Sunday, April 9⁶⁸ (LWF 1.420). He had evidently been disturbed over the possibility that De Quincey had not got the title-page right, and would also bungle the "Corunna." It is fair to imagine that Dorothy, and perhaps Mary also, had been urging him to let the matter be—fearful of more trials for De Quincey, and possibly of the poet's writing something that would further disturb the sensitive editor. Dorothy takes the matter into her hands, in her own name tactfully conveying the message, and, without direct criticism of her brother, letting her sympathy with De Quincey appear. ". . . I think it best to write a few lines for your satisfaction, though whether the pamphlet be published or not, there is no *necessity* for writing, as I do not think it likely that you would have 'Author of the L. B.,' printed in the title-page, which must by no means be done. My brother

⁶⁷ He was away on a visit to Penrith and Workington from Friday, March 31, to Wednesday, April 5 (LWF 1. 421 ¶ 3; *Memoirs* 1. 388).

⁶⁸ Headed "Sunday Afternoon, April, 1809." Sunday was the 9th. The references to Coleridge's visit to Workington Hall (417, 421) indicate that the letter follows that of Wednesday, the 5th. It also follows Wordsworth's letter (LWF 1. 421) of Friday, the 7th, for it shows the poet has been at home—and he returned Wednesday. The directions for "Corunna" (420 ¶ 1, 424) show the same.

approves of your manner of disposing of General Ferguson. Let the 'Corunna' be omitted. I fear your labours will not be over to-morrow; but soon you must have rest, and we shall all be thankful. You have indeed been a treasure to us while you have been in London, having spared my brother so much anxiety and care. We are very grateful for your kindness." It is clear that at Allan Bank they were expecting the printing to be done within a few days.

With this, Wordsworth seems to have given up changing the text. Evidently, from now on, his irritation with his editor grew as the days passed. Apparently, little was written to De Quincey in the next weeks, for on the 28th there came a letter from him regretting that he had not heard from the family "for so long a time" (LWF 1.430). With the workmen again about the house trying to correct the defective chimneys, Wordsworth went back to poetry, which he had abandoned for some months. He set himself successfully to perfecting the *White Doe* for publication the next winter (LWF 1.430-1). Despite these efforts, and Coleridge's assistance in 1808 with corrections,⁶⁹ the poem was not issued till 1815. He was planning also to publish *Peter Bell* and *The Waggoner*, really not to appear till ten years later. He had been talking, and indeed had written to Coleridge, of taking up newspaper work to add to the family purse;⁷⁰ but Coleridge has sent an earnest protest—he can earn enough for them all!

The calm is, however, only on the surface. The pamphlet had not yet appeared. In the last days of April, Wordsworth was exchanging with Coleridge letters of complaint accusing De Quincey of grave delinquency (LLP 155). On the 26th, he asked Stuart (LLP 338) personally to interfere and urge the printer to activity. Stuart evidently saw Baldwin, who appears to have put the blame on De Quincey and the many corrections made (LLP 157 ll. 13 ff.). Coleridge's letter to Stuart of May 2 (LLP 155) opens up the whole matter. De Quincey has written Wordsworth that "the compositor has been drunk"⁷¹ ever since Easter week," absenting himself from the office, and, when present, setting up the matter so badly as to omit "whole sentences"; and

⁶⁹ Knight, *Life*, 2. 100; Campbell, *Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge*, London, 1901, lxxvii ¶ 1.

⁷⁰ On this, see note 32.

⁷¹ See also LLP 338.

Baldwin would not put another man on the job. Coleridge has been making inquiries (LLP 343 ¶ 2). Baldwin complains of "chopping and changing."⁷² De Quincey and Wordsworth declare that "for these last five weeks"⁷³ there has not been the slightest alteration made either in the text or the notes; nor a word altered in the proofs when returned, and only the punctuation in six places!!" But Coleridge is sceptical. He has written Wordsworth twice, very plainly stating that the printer is little to blame. Before De Quincey was given the supervision of the printing, he had seen too much of his "turn of mind, anxious yet dilatory, confused from over accuracy, and at once systematic and labyrinthine, not fully to understand how great a plague he might easily be to a London printer; his natural tediousness made yet greater by his zeal and fear of not discharging his trust; and superadded to Wordsworth's own Sibyl's leaves, blown about by the changeful winds of an anxious author's second thoughts." It is indeed pleasing to hear Coleridge so discourse! "I have written to W. stating honestly my convictions, that he will not find Baldwin so much in the wrong as he now believes, and that he ought to bring before his fancy all his own *copy*, from the beginning of the Work, and compare it in his mind's eye, with the sort of copy, and the mode of receiving it to which Baldwin had probably been accustomed." "That Wordsworth has not been quite pleased with the first letter, and will be still less so with my letter of to-day, I know; . . . not easily to admit oneself to be in fault, is as often the mark of a valuable, as of an obstinate mind." De Quincey is intolerably slow at any work. ". . . I can never retract my expression of vexation and surprise, that W. should have entrusted anything to him, beyond the mere correction of the Proofs. But an unwise anxiety to let nothing escape, has been the rock on which W. has split; whereas had he brought it out, such as it was, he might now have been adding all he wished to a second edition. But so it is! We cannot be perfect." Coleridge himself is too indifferent in his printing. Wordsworth's "is a more rational fault, and linked to better qualities."

So the author, the editor, and the printer, were passing the blame from one to the other—all probably somewhat at fault, but

⁷² See also LLP 343.

⁷³ See also Wordsworth to Stuart, LLP 345.

the author really the original culprit. A sufficient amount of time had elapsed, however, to make possible the remedying of all the fruits of the delinquencies. Evidently the pamphlet was actually at last about to appear.

But, alas! the author was once again to interfere seriously! On May 3, the very day on which, as De Quincey had notified him, the pamphlet was to be issued (LWF 3.469), Wordsworth chanced to read in "an old magazine" "that B. Flower had been fined £100, and committed to Newgate for four months" for a libel on the Bishop of Llandaff (LWF 3.468; LLP 341). "This brought Gilbert Wakefield to my mind, and his four years' imprisonment in Dorsetshire goal." The poet was filled with apprehension: he may have laid himself open to prosecution for the ardent phrases of the tract! He hastened to beseech Stuart,⁷⁴ if the pamphlet was not published, to go over it for passages that might be "made a handle for exercising upon my person a like act of injustice. If any such passages occur, let the leaf be cancelled." Expense is no consideration in such a matter. Let De Quincey or Stuart fill up the gaps that may be caused by any such excisions. The passage from which most is to be apprehended is "what greater punishment could befall men [*sic!* "what punishment could be greater"] than to have brought upon themselves the unreasonable [*sic!* "unremoveable"] contempt and hatred of their countrymen?" (1809, 97 l. 14; G, 104 l. 2 from end; K, 194 l. 8 from end; Oxf, 98 l. 9 from end).⁷⁵ Much of this matter, with added details of the original suggestion of his apprehensions, Wordsworth wrote to Coleridge in the important letter (LWF 4.468)⁷⁶ of the 5th,

"LLP 341. This letter was "Posted May 6, 1809." It was written May 3. Wordsworth expected Stuart to receive it on Saturday, May 6 (LWF 1. 445 ¶ 2), and looked for a reply by Wednesday, the 10th (LWF 1. 443).

⁷⁴It would appear that the motto on the reverse of the title-page of the pamphlet, was a late thought. In this letter to Stuart, Wordsworth quotes (LLP 344) the passage from Bacon's "advertisement concerning Church Controversies." He comments, "Substitute the word Patriot for Christian and the position is equally true, and even more so, inasmuch as we are less liable to be misled about moral duties than points of doctrine." See below, page 56.

⁷⁵"The day before yesterday," Wordsworth was struck with the libel scare, and at once wrote to Stuart. That letter was posted May 6, but written May 3, the day of the scare. The letter to Coleridge, and that

outlining and explaining his scheme for the arrangement of his poems.

On the 5th,⁷⁷ Wordsworth wrote De Quincey of his request to Stuart, expressing his apprehensions, calling attention especially to the passage quoted above, and suggesting that for the passage be substituted the words, "'What punishment could be greater than the unalterable sentence already passed on them by the voice of their countrymen?' or any words to that effect to fill up the space." To clinch the matter, he added a postscript, "If the pamphlet is bound up, the leaf must be cancelled."⁷⁸

Not having heard from either De Quincey or Stuart, he writes on the 10th (LWF 1.443)⁷⁹ a long letter to the former, insisting that Stuart "carefully cancel every leaf" that contains matter which he considers actionable. If he have any doubt, let him consult some reliable person. Wordsworth cares little what delay may be caused. One passage⁸⁰ that he has discussed with De Quincey, he fears has not been changed. There is "another strong passage"⁸¹ beginning, "In Sir Hew Dalrymple. . . ." Let Stuart use his judgment—but the "*hatred and contempt*" passage must be cancelled.

of May 5 to De Quincey (LWF 1. 440 l. 9), have other variations (probably misquotations) from the printed text of the dangerous passage, among them "hatred and contempt."

"LWF 1. 440. Knight says the postscript to Sara Hutchinson's part of this letter is dated Friday, May 5, and the letter has the postmark "May 8, 1809." Why did he omit the date? Dorothy's letter to De Quincey of Saturday, May 6 (LWF 1. 435), mentions this letter as written by her brother and Miss Hutchinson "yesterday."

⁷⁸ On the outcome of this, see below, pages 59, 76.

⁷⁹ Dated "Wednesday Night." Printed by Japp (*De Quincey Memorials*, 1. 164) as written "a few days later" than the letter of the 5th. Wednesday is May 10. Wordsworth says he expected this night a reply from Stuart or De Quincey or both, apparently to his letters of the 3rd and 5th (see above); and states that Stuart should have received his "first letter" on the libel scare "last Saturday" (1. 445 ¶ 2).

⁸⁰ "Now it was in the character. . ." (1809, 104; G, 109; K, 200; Oxf, 105). The passage had been changed (LLP 346), as Knight shows (LWF 1. 444 note). Japp (*De Quincey Memorials*, 1. 165 note) misquotes Grosart's text in remarking on this passage.

⁸¹ Changed by adding "and their own weakness," and twice substituting "had" for "have" (1809, 54 l. 8; G, 73 l. 5 from end; K, 157 l. 22; Oxf, 55 l. 22). Japp (*op. cit.* 1. 165 note 2) inaccurately says the passage "stands as originally written."

Wordsworth was evidently in a state of high vocal alarm. The attitude of the women toward most of his alterations, that appears here and there⁸² in the correspondence of the preceding months, is apparent in these days of apprehension. To the letter of May 5, Sara Hutchinson added a postscript (LWF 1.442) beginning, "We females shall be very sorry to find that the pamphlet is not published, for we have not the least fear of Newgate—if there was a garden to walk in, we think we should do very nicely—and a gaol in the country would be quite pleasant. But seriously, I hope that the passage may not be deemed objectionable, for another delay will be most provoking, and put Mr. Baldwin out of all patience with you both." Dorothy's letter of the 6th (LWF 1.435) opens with a wish that the carrier bring them a letter from De Quincey that night. "Would that the pamphlets might come too! William still continues to haunt himself with fancies about Newgate and Dorchester or some other gaol, but as his mind clings to the gloomy, Newgate is his favorite theme. We, however, have no fears, for even if the words be actionable (which I cannot but think they are not), in these times they would not dare to inflict such a punishment."

Apparently only one change resulted from this libel scare. Arrangements were made that the leaf (1809, 97-98) containing the "unremovable contempt and hatred" passage (1809, 97 l. 14; G, 104 l. 2 from end; K, 194 l. 8 from end; Oxf, 98 l. 9 from end), should be removed, and another inserted with a variant ("what punishment could be greater than to have brought upon themselves the sentence passed upon them by the voice of their countrymen?") of the substitute that Wordsworth had proposed.⁸³ The correspondence of the next two weeks after the letter of May 19, is missing.

It seems that the printer finished his work by the 20th.⁸⁴ On the 23rd (LLP 344 ¶ 3; LWF 1.445 ¶ 4), Wordsworth received

⁸² *E. g.*, LWF 1. 412 ¶ 4 l. 1, 418 l. 6 ff., 420 ¶ 1.

⁸³ See below, page 59, for the failure to make the substitution in some copies.

⁸⁴ See LWF 1. 456 ¶ 2 ll. 6, 11, 457 l. 3; LLP 348. De Quincey appears to have determined the date appended to the "Advertisement," "May 20th, 1809," by the date on which the printer finished. It was well to hold the dating till the last moment. Still more changes might have been ordered from Grasmere.

four unstitched copies (LLP 351 ¶ 2) of the pamphlet. On the 24th (LWF 1.445), he wrote De Quincey a rather grudging letter in which he expresses appreciation of the postscript on Sir John Moore's letters. His apprehensions will not let him rest satisfied that the text has been gone over thoroughly enough to assure the removal of all actionable passages. Moreover, though he has not read the tract through, he is irritated to find already some *errata*. Of these the most important is "zeal" for "hate" in the motto prefaced to the pamphlet. Two others—"abuses" for "abusers" (1809, 186 l. 16; G, 170 l. 18; K, 273 l. 9; Oxf, 188 l. 22), and "calenture" for "calenture of fancy" (1809, 184 l. 7 from end; G, 169 l. 12; K, 271 l. 6 from end; Oxf, 187 l. 2)—are important. No doubt the fault rests with omissions or illegible penmanship in the "copy"; "indeed I am surprised how you have been able to get it done so correctly." But the errors are there, and he commissions Miss Hutchinson to draw up a list of twelve slips. He bids her ask De Quincey to send a copy of the book to Lord Lonsdale,⁸⁵ after correcting the errors with a pen.

The "error" in the motto—"character of zeal or love," for "character of hate or love"—which Wordsworth, "sadly grieved," declared (see second paragraph below), "utterly destroys the sole reason for presenting the passage so conspicuously to notice," is interesting. The prints of the original (see note 75) in Bacon's *An Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England* (paragraph 4 or 5, according to the text) usually read, "character of zeal or love" (e. g., Montagu's edition, London, 1827, 7.32; edition printed by Baynes, London, 1824, 2.503). Spedding's *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, London, 1861, 1.76, reads, "character either of zeal or love"; but has a footnote, "either of hate or love: Harl. MS. 3795." In quoting to Stuart the original passage from Bacon (see note 75), Wordsworth wrote, "love or hate"! misquoting, as in the same letter he misquoted the "contempt and hatred" passage (LLP 344; see notes 75, 76, and the text thereto). The passage from Bacon that he had encountered with the Harleian reading so appealed to him that he determined to adopt a motto for the pamphlet, and to adopt this. He or his original omitted "either." Apparently,

⁸⁵ See also the letter to Lonsdale (LWF 3. 395; *Memoirs* 1. 390). On the *errata* list and the ink corrections, see below, pages 72, 74.

Mary or Dorothy copied the passage from another text; or, more probably, De Quincey looked it up in another edition, and changed the "copy." Knight prints, "hate or love," following the Hutchinson *errata* list. Grosart and the Oxford Press read, "zeal or love," for they ignore (see below, page 76) the Hutchinson *errata*.

On the 25th, Wordsworth voiced his feeling against De Quincey to Stuart.⁸⁶ He asserts that De Quincey has been the *occasion*, but not the *cause*, of the delay in publication. Not a syllable in the body of the work has been altered since nearly two months back. De Quincey "must have" insisted upon his punctuation being attended to; and the printer "must have" been put out of humor by this, and therefore refused to go on with the work. Wordsworth's only inducement in giving the supervision to De Quincey was a desire to save time and expense, and to spare Stuart—and he is very sorry that Stuart has been so bothered in the matter.

Chidden by Mrs. Wordsworth for his grudging letter of the 24th, on the 26th Wordsworth wrote De Quincey an epistle (LWF 1.451) intended to be more gracious. The coolness of the former letter arose, as he had replied to Mary, from his assumption that "Mr. De Quincey will do me the justice to believe that, as I knew he was completely master of the subject [Sir John Moore's letters], my expectations would be high; and if I told him that these were answered, what need I or could I say any more?" He compliments him on the handling of Moore's letters. He is "sadly grieved," however, about "that error" in the motto, which "utterly destroys the sole reason for presenting the passage so conspicuously to notice." He regrets that he did not order the pamphlet sent to him before its issue, for he might have been sure that there would be blunders in it. "In spite of all this it is very correctly printed, and the punctuation pleases me much; though there are here and there trifling errors in it. I think, indeed, your plan of punctuation admirable." Not satisfied with this doubtful expiation and attempt to placate, Mrs. Wordsworth found space

⁸⁶ LLP has two letters to Stuart, one of the 25th (344), and one posted May 31 (348). Knight prints parts of these letters. The selections from that of the 25th, he prints as two letters (LWF 1. 448, 449), with the second of these incorporating two paragraphs (LWF 1. 450 ¶¶ 3, 4) from the end of the letter posted on the 31st. I follow the LLP arrangement which appears to be the more authentic.

left on the sheet to write a much longer letter, whose matter and spirit would go far to smooth out the trouble.

Enough would seem to have occurred. But new cause for disturbance came several days later in a letter from De Quincey. The poet writes Stuart on the 30th or the 31st (LLP 1.348), "angered much" that De Quincey has trusted the printers to show the sheets to Stuart for a search for libellous passages—and they have gone ahead and finished the work without waiting! Wordsworth is offended at the possible injury to himself, and the offense to Stuart. One is tempted to suggest that probably Stuart had not been very anxious to undertake the unnecessary censoring of the long tract, with the inevitable dissatisfaction that would have resulted from excisions and substitutions and added costs of printing. Moreover, Wordsworth is angered that the work has been lying ten days at the printer's, and is probably still unpublished, because De Quincey did not determine when the books were finished, and then notify Stuart of the fact, but took the printer's word that he would convey the notification. Despite his consciousness that the tract will appear too late for any effect, the poet urges Stuart to push it forward in the public eye for the few days of the Session that remain; and he requests that, if a second edition is in publication when the letter reaches him, Stuart will cancel all passages he judges to be libellous.

Wordsworth found relief from his feelings by complaining of all this and more, at much length, with many details, in a letter to Poole on May 31.⁸⁷ The delay of the past two months is all

⁸⁷ LWF 1. 455. This is the important letter in which Wordsworth speaks out very bluntly his opinions of Coleridge's character and his prospects with the *Friend*. Poole, with Stuart, Montagu, and Clarkson, had been advancing money for the stamped paper for the periodical (see Campbell, *Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge*, 1901, lxxix). See the quotations from this letter above, page 33. Mrs. Sandford (*Thomas Poole and His Friends*, 2. 229) gives a wrong date, "March 31, 1809." Campbell (*op. cit.* lxxix) assigns the date March 23. Knight heads the letter "[About May, 1809]." In his *Life of Wordsworth*, 2. 135, he correctly dates it May 31, 1809. The identity between statements of this letter and that posted May 31 to Stuart (see above) fixes the date—as do the phrases "now that it has been entirely printed off for full ten days"; "the pamphlet has been lying ten days"; "The pamphlet [*i. e.*, copies received May 23] was sent off by me ten days ago."—The "last letter" mentioned in the first line of the present letter, is probably that to Poole of March 30 (see above).

De Quincey's fault. He is no person to depute such affairs to! But the poet had not credited the fact. "*Hinc illæ lacrimæ!*"

Meanwhile, the publication of the tract was advertised in the *Courier* of May 27, Stuart giving it great prominence in the first column of the front page.⁸⁸

But the end was not yet! On June 4, Wordsworth wrote Stuart (LLP 351; part in LWF 1.458) that he had just been harassed and mortified by the discovery of a most distressing lapse regarding the substituted leaf (see above, pages 53-55). Of ten stitched copies sent him, two being "covered with green paper,"⁸⁹ there remain in his hands three copies, one of them in green paper. The copy in green has the corrected leaf; the other two have the original leaf. He fears that all the stitched copies not in green paper have the first reading. This is the more culpable because an *errata* slip, "printed on another part of the same half sheet" as the substituted leaf, is inserted in the copies that have the original leaf. He earnestly entreats Stuart to do his best to remedy the trouble. He can hardly venture to ask Stuart to see a second edition through the press; therefore he "cannot have the least hope but that such

⁸⁸Critics have hitherto been contented to repeat the statement of the *Memoirs* (l. 384) that the pamphlet appeared at "the end of May." Knight says (PW 1. xiii), "early in June." The advertisement reads: "This Day is published, by Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, / Paternoster row, price 5s. / CONCERNING the RELATIONS of GREAT / BRITAIN, SPAIN, and PORTUGAL to each other, / and to the COMMON ENEMY at this Crisis; and specifi- / cally as affected by the CONVENTION OF CINTRA: the whole brought to the test of those Principles by which alone / the Independence and Freedom of Nations can be preserved / or recovered. By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH." This notice is repeated in the issues of May 29, page 1, col. 1, and June 1, page 1, col. 3.

⁸⁹Wise, *Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of William Wordsworth*, London, 1916, 75, says of the pamphlet, "Issued (or at all events made up), in the first instance, 'stabbed' and without wrappers. Subsequently issued in drab paper boards, without lettering or label. It is curious that every copy of the book in original boards I have met with had been pierced with stab-holes through the inner margins. The inference is that the whole edition was originally made up 'stabbed,' and that a remaining portion was put into boards at some later period." One wonders about the binding into boards. The book fell flat from the first. The stab-holes show it was not originally intended to be bound up. The copies I have seen have the title and last page very dirty. They have all been bound up at a later date by their owners. Drab boards was a common binding in the first two decades of the century.

blunders and negligence would take place, in inserting the alterations, as to render the book utterly unintelligible. In fact," and he puts much of the story into a sentence, "nothing can be more unfortunate for a work of this kind than a residence so far from London, and so unfavorable to communication with the post." If a second edition is called for, let it be run off from a copy of the tract, corrected from the *errata* slip and the *errata* since sent off.

A number of copies with the original reading at page 97 are extant, though such are more rare than are copies with the corrected reading.⁹⁰ Grosart's, as we shall show (see below, page 76), is the only reprint that has the corrected reading.

We have seen that Wordsworth sent away a few complimentary copies from the fourteen he had asked for (LWF 1.391 ¶ 3, 458-9).⁹¹ He directed De Quincey and Stuart to send off some others. Evidently Stuart, perhaps partly by the author's direction, gave away a number of copies at his own expense (LWF 1.465 ¶ 1; LLP 357). Henry Crabb Robinson gave a copy to a Mr. Puhl (see below, page 68). Wordsworth seems to have been desirous that his friends of non-political bent should buy the pamphlet, if they wished to see it.⁹²

So ends the story of the publication. As late as June 17 (LLP 354 ¶ 2), the author was hoping that a second edition would be called for. But no sale was effected for even the first. In 1851, Bishop Wordsworth stated in the *Memoirs* (1.405) that of the five hundred⁹³ copies printed, "many copies were disposed of by the publishers as waste paper, and went to the trunkmakers; and now there is scarcely any volume published in this century which is so difficult to be met with . . . ; and if it were now reprinted, it would come before the public with almost the unimpaired freshness of a new work."

The early rarity of the tract appeared at the sale of the library

⁹⁰ Wise, *op. cit.* 77-8.

⁹¹ We are told (Grosart, *Prose Works of Wordsworth*, 1. xvii) that Wordsworth reserved no copy for himself at the time of publication. If so, he had a copy later, for to Stuart on June 22, 1817, he quoted (LLP 369) pretty accurately a passage from the tract.

⁹² See Lamb's letter to Coleridge of June 7, 1809; Dorothy's to Mrs. Clarkson, LWF 1. 462 ¶ 3; Wordsworth's to Poole, Knight, *Life* 2. 134 ¶ 2, and to Wrangham, LWF 1. 427 ¶ 2.

⁹³ See LWF 1. 476 ¶ 2.

of Sir James Mackintosh (died May 30, 1832), when a copy is said to have brought ten guineas.⁹⁴ At present the slightness of interest in the original edition, and the scarcity of copies, are shown by the offering of the book only now and then in the book-sellers' catalogues, and by the great variation in the prices asked. In December, 1920, I learned from direct inquiry that no copy was owned by the Philadelphia Mercantile Library, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Boston Public Library, the Newberry Library of Chicago, the Public Library of Chicago, and the libraries of the following universities—Princeton, Illinois, Chicago, Johns Hopkins, Yale, Cornell, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania. A copy is owned by the New York Public Library, one by Mrs. St. John, one by the Harvard College Library (purchased in May, 1918), and one (defective) by Columbia University. On these four copies, see below, pages 67, 75.

Though the tract can have had but little circulation, and produced (despite the implication of Professor Dicey)⁹⁵ little, if any, immediate direct political effect, and probably but little direct influence later, we have seen that eminent readers hailed it in 1809, and have cherished it since, as, in the larger elements of its matter and in its form, one of the noblest extended pieces of English prose.

Dorothy wrote De Quincey on Thursday, June 23⁹⁶ (LWF 1.467 ¶ 2), "We have heard from several quarters that the pamphlet has made considerable impression, I mean among a few." To Mrs. Clarkson, she wrote (LWF 1.476 ¶ 2) on "Sunday, (I know not the day of the month) 26th or 27th August," "Tell us what you think of William's book. All the judicious seem to admire it. Many are astonished with the wisdom of it but nobody buys! An edition of 500 is not yet sold. . . ." On June 15 (LWF 1.462 ¶ 3), she had remarked to Mrs. Clarkson, "What a pity that it did not come out sooner! It would have been then

⁹⁴ Grosart, *Prose Works of Wordsworth*, I. xvii.

⁹⁵ *Statesmanship of Wordsworth*, 94; Oxford reprint of tract, xxxii.

⁹⁶ Headed, "Grasmere, Thursday, I believe about the 25th June." Thursday was the 23rd. The postscript says, "Coleridge has been with us nearly a fortnight." Dorothy's letter of Wednesday, June 15, says, "At 10 o'clock yesterday morning Coleridge arrived." Wordsworth's letter to Stuart, posted June 17 (LLP 355 ¶ 2), says, "Coleridge arrived here yesterday morning."

much plainer to all readers (very few of whom will bear in mind *the time* at which the tract was written). What a true prophet he has been! C. has had an interesting letter from Charles Lamb."

On June 15⁹⁷ (LLP 354; part in LWF 1.464), Wordsworth wrote Stuart of the pamphlet, "I learn from Charles Lamb that everybody whom he has heard speak of it in town extols it highly." The allusions are to Lamb's kind, brave letter of the 7th to Coleridge. He and Mary have moved to No. 4, Inner Temple Lane. But the removal has brought on another of Mary's attacks. Of the tract he says, ". . . I am to have it to-morrow lent me, and if Wordsworth don't send me an order for one upon Longmans, I will buy it. It is greatly extolled and liked by all who have seen it." We have noticed Lamb's enthusiastic praise in his letter of October 30.

By the first of August, Dorothy had heard of no reviews of the tract, and had found none in the Book Club at Kendal (LWF 1.471). But, in September, a very favorable notice of two pages appeared in the *British Critic* (34.305-6). In the fall, Henry Crabb Robinson, who was to become the trusted friend of all Wordsworth's later years, published his first article over his own name.⁹⁸ He had just returned from Spain. The article criticized a group of four writings on Spanish affairs, and appeared in the fourth and last number of Tipper's and Cumberland's ill-starred quarterly, *The London Review* (2.231 ff.).⁹⁹ Some eighteen of its forty-five pages were a review of the *Cintra* pamphlet, not only enthusiastic and justly appreciative, but through its quotation of finer passages most likely to promote interest in the book. One hopes Wordsworth saw the article. We have indicated that Robinson praised particularly the latter part of the pamphlet, that included in the long insertion which was drawn from materials which would have been worked into the rejected "second part" (see above, page 41).

Beyond the judgments of Southey and Coleridge noted at the opening of this study, there are to be indicated two letters on the

⁹⁷ LLP and LWF both say this has the postmark "June 17, 1809." The letter was written June 15 (see note 96).

⁹⁸ *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, Boston, 1869, I. 189.

⁹⁹ A copy of the *Review* is in the Yale University Library.

reasons for the failure of the tract to reach the public. To Sir Walter Scott, Southey wrote on July 30, 1809, "Wordsworth's pamphlet will fail of producing any general effect, because the sentences are long and involved; and his friend, De Quincey, who corrected the press, has rendered them more obscure by an unusual system of punctuation. This fault will outweigh all its merits. . . . I impute Wordsworth's lack of perspicuity to two causes—his admiration of Milton's prose, and his habit of dictating instead of writing: if he were his own scribe his eye would tell him where to stop; but, in dictating, his own thoughts are to himself familiarly intelligible, and he goes on, unconscious either of the length of the sentence, or the difficulty a common reader must necessarily find in following its meaning to the end, and unravelling all its involutions."¹⁰⁰

On June 13, Coleridge wrote Stuart from Grasmere (LLP 167; LC 548), "I have just read Wordsworth's pamphlet, and more than fear that your friendly expectations of its sale and influence have been too sanguine. Had I not known the author I would willingly have travelled from St. Michael's Mount to Johnny Groat's House on a pilgrimage to see and reverence him." But the public has lost interest in the Convention. Moreover, Wordsworth's style, so acceptable to Coleridge and a few others, is not adapted to the understanding or the liking of common readers. A great hindrance is due to "Mr. De Quincey's strange and most mistaken system of punctuation. The periods are often alarmingly long, perforce of their construction, but De Quincey's punctuation has made several of them immeasurable, and perplexed half the rest. Never was a stranger whim than the notion that , ; : and . could be made logical symbols, expressing all the diversities of logical connection." Lastly, "readers even of judgment, may complain of a want of shade and background; that it is all foreground, all in hot tints; that the first note is pitched at the height of the instrument, and never suffered to sink. . . ."¹⁰¹ I much admired our young friend's note on Sir John Moore and his dispatch; it was excellently arranged and urged."

It is curious that, though De Quincey seems ever ready to talk of personal matters, though he published much about Coleridge

¹⁰⁰ *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*. London, 1850, 3. 246.

¹⁰¹ Here follows matter quoted at the opening of this study.

and Wordsworth and his earlier relations with them, and though he wrote of his sojourn at Allan Bank in 1808-1809 and of his settling at Dove Cottage, he apparently printed nothing about the tract or his part in it. The extant De Quincey family letters published by Japp offer merely an indication that perhaps he sent a copy of the pamphlet to his brother, Richard.¹⁰²

Critics have ignored or have said little of De Quincey's work on the pamphlet. That little has been an echoing of the few expressions of the author, Southey, and Coleridge, of which the quotations just made contain the pith. Of commendation the critics¹⁰³ repeat merely Coleridge's and Wordsworth's remarks, caught up by Christopher Wordsworth, that De Quincey wrote the Appendix, and drew up the note on Sir John Moore's letter "in a masterly manner." The burden of their meagre criticism is ever a slurring reiteration of what Wordsworth communicated to correspondents, and what Coleridge and Southey handed on with more definiteness. This adverse judgment implies that the pamphlet failed, first, because of obscurity due to, or at least not obviated by, De Quincey's punctuation; and, secondly, largely because of delays through irritation of the printers arising from innumerable corrections which were the product of De Quincey's old-maidenish punctiliousness and incapacity to act directly and promptly, and especially the result of his foolish insistence on the observance of an absurd system of punctuation that he had devised.

Our discussion of the history of the printing, while it does not exculpate De Quincey wholly from responsibility in the delay of the work, does show clearly causes sufficient for that delay in Wordsworth's constant changes, his inexactness and lack of order, his unfamiliarity with the pointing of prose, his neglect of reasonable precautions for presenting good "copy," and his unthinking imposition on De Quincey of a variety of burdens which an active sense of fairness, the rules of ordinary consideration, and a moderate notion of efficiency, would have caused him to bear himself, or have rendered unnecessary.

The prime ground of the adverse criticism of De Quincey's work is his handling of the punctuation. Wordsworth's admission to

¹⁰² *De Quincey Memorials* 1. 258 ¶ 3.

¹⁰³ *E. g.*, Knight, *PW* 1. xii; Harper, *William Wordsworth* 2. 176 ¶ 2; *D. N. B.*, s. v., *Wordsworth* 63. 20 col. 2. See *Memoirs*, 1. 384.

Poole (LWF 1.456 ¶ 1) of the inadequateness of his own punctuation, and of the necessity of his delegating the pointing to some one, and so to De Quincey, has been ignored. With some reason have been passed over his statements to De Quincey (LWF 1.452 ¶ 1), “. . . the punctuation pleases me much . . . I think, indeed, your plan of punctuation admirable”—for Wordsworth was evidently speaking otherwise to other persons. In one (LLP 345) of the two extant passages where he speaks adversely of the punctuation, he speaks not from knowledge, but from inference—“De Quincey must have,” “the printer must have”; and in the other (LWF 1.456) he puts the blame on the punctuation in a rather general way—since he had not mastered punctuation in prose, he had delegated the matter to De Quincey. “*Hinc illæ lacrimæ!*” He must, however, have spoken out more plainly and emphatically to Coleridge and Southey, to give them the impressions they communicated to others.

Hitherto, an independent judgment of what De Quincey actually did with the punctuation, has not been sought by critics. A basis for such an estimate becomes available in a comparison of the articles in the *Courier* and the reprint of them in the pamphlet. In making the comparison, one must, of course, admit that the punctuation of the articles may have been somewhat affected by the compositors, and perhaps by the regular policy of the *Courier*. It must also be remembered that, though some of the punctuation of the tract may not be wholly due to De Quincey, it was accepted by him.

The tract shows slightly over one hundred and fifty changes in punctuation from the *Courier* text. These consist chiefly in the correction of palpable errors, in the more liberal use of commas, and in the dividing of long sentences into two (1809, 3 l. 4; 4 ll. 13, 26; 8 ll. 13, 17, 18; 11 l. 4; 22 ll. 13, 12, and 4 from end;—G, 37 l. 3; 38 ll. 1, 12; 40 l. 3 from end, 41 ll. 1, 2; 42 l. 6 from end; 51 ll. 6, 7, 13—K, 113 l. 3; 114 l. 16, and l. 10 from end; 117 ll. 6, 2, and 1 from end; 120 l. 7; 130 ll. 7, 8, 15;—Oxf, 5 l. 3; 6 ll. 12, 25; 10 ll. 11, 15, 16; 12 l. 4 from end; 24 ll. 12, 13, 21). At two points (1809, 12 l. 4 from end, 16 l. 5 from end; G, 44 s. 2, 47 last line; K, 121 l. 11 from end, 125 l. 7; Oxf, 14 l. 25, 18 l. 21), two sentences are united, in each case wisely, especially in view of the context. The punctuation of the *Courier*

is poor and often inaccurate. Comparison shows indisputably that, in the parallel passages, the punctuation of the tract is very much better in consistency both from sentence to sentence and within the given sentence; in the accurate location of the pointing; and notably in clearness—an issue of immense importance in such a style. It is of interest that in the matter which Coleridge claimed particularly as his own (*i. e.*, the last two columns of the second *Courier* article; see above, page 28), the changes are proportionately less numerous than in the rest of the matter; for here the pointing of the *Courier* is better. The changes here are, however, still more marked improvements than are those made elsewhere.

The comparison of the two texts is, then, distinctly to the advantage of De Quincey's practice.

When one considers the punctuation of the tract as a whole on its own merits, one is forced to observe that it is not eccentric or objectionable in any just sense. To Stuart, Coleridge blamed (LLP 168) De Quincey for the length of the sentences; he recognized that Wordsworth's sentences were "often alarmingly long, perforce of their construction," and held that De Quincey "made several of them immeasurable, and perplexed half the rest." That De Quincey or any one should venture on any considerable breaking up, and so rephrasing, of these long periods, is not tenable. Such modification would not wisely be undertaken by any editor on such a scale, and with such inevitable effects on the style. It could not be done to the satisfaction of an author so watchful of details as Wordsworth was in these months. It is interesting that in the portion claimed by Coleridge as his work, the tract corrects one of the worst errors in sentence division (1809, 22 ll. 13, 12—"In," "therefore"—and 4 from end; G, 51 ll. 6, 7, 13; K, 130 ll. 7, 8, 15; Oxf, 24 ll. 12, 13, 21).

The pamphlet exhibits a very liberal use of commas and, especially for parenthetical and adjoined expression, of dashes. But both of these types of point were much more in use in 1809 than they are today. Moreover, when one studies the long sentences heaped up with parallels, parentheses, restrictions, and added details, one realizes that for mere clearness there were necessitated in the tract an unusual amount of pointing, and at times the use of means other than the ordinary. Throughout the tract, the punctuation is logical; it is rarely inconsistent. Indeed, one is

astonished at its consistency when one considers Wordsworth's confessed weakness in punctuation of prose, his request to De Quincey to make up for his deficiencies, and the probable state of the manuscript that De Quincey had to correct and to present to the printer, apparently without copying. Anyone who has attempted to revise the punctuation of handwriting with the irregular pointing that Wordsworth's would seem likely to have had, and that the *Courier* articles present, will congratulate De Quincey on his success. But one must compliment the editor particularly on the clearness that his pointing has given to the involved expression. Happy should be he, who, through his own efforts or those of an editor, attains such adequate pointing as is shown in the tract.

It is, indeed, possible that some or much of this merit was acquired through corrections in the proofs, with consequent delay of the pamphlet. But the pointing in "copy," if entered legibly, should be followed directly by the compositor, irrespective of its basis. It is not unlikely, also, that a compositor—especially one for long in the state that the letters record (LLP 338, 156; see above, page 51) — would make much delay through failure to follow "copy" whose sentences were so unusually involved and varied in their elements.

We may conclude our story of the history of the tract with some notes on the variant copies and the text.

The student must be on the lookout for specimens of the pamphlet with the earlier title-page (see above, page 42); with (1) the cancel half-leaf, pp. 97-98, 103-4, or (2) the cancel leaf pp. 97-98 *pasted* in (see pages 53, 68, 69); with the original leaf pp. 97-9 (see above, page 59); with the *errata* leaf 1 (next after page 216, on 2) next after the title (see below, page 74); with corrections in De Quincey's hand (see below, page 74); or with the error on page 8 (see below, pages 68, 69).

In the Columbia University Library is a copy (Shelf-number 946.06Z) of the pamphlet, bound with other pamphlets. It has the original leaf at pages 97-98. Its *errata* leaf is pasted in next after the leaf of the title-page, and next preceding the "Advertisement." Pages 3-8 are missing.—In the New York Public Library is a copy (Shelf-mark DGO) in the Evert A. Duyckinck Collection, bound by "Wm. Smith, New York." It has the substituted leaf

at pages 97-98, with no signs of pasteing. The *errata* leaf is located as in the Columbia copy.—In the Harvard College Library is a copy (Shelf-number Fr 1841.9.5) purchased in May, 1918, from the collection of the Marquis de Olivart of Madrid. On its title-page is written in old ink: "To Mr. Puhl with H. C. Robinson's compliments." It has the substituted leaf with pp. 97-98 pasted on the remains of the inner edge of the old leaf, which was cut out.—None of these copies has corrections of the text in ink.

I have a copy of the tract with the usual title-page, and with the original leaf at pages 97-98. The *errata* leaf is pasted in between the title leaf and the "Advertisement." It is clean on both sides. The back of the last leaf, page 216, is dirty, as is the title-page. Hence, it is clear that the *errata* did not follow page 216 (see below, page 74). A peculiarity of this copy is on page 8 line 7 from end. The line reads "by a relevation oft state of being that admits." The *t* in *oft* has part of the upper tip of the cross vertical stroke, and part of the left tip of the cross stroke, missing. A space of three letters follows before "state." Knight, Grosart, and the Oxford text all read "revelation of the state" (K, 118 l. 11; G, 41; Oxf, 10 l. 9 from end). As the spacing shows, there was an error here, with possibly an attempt at correction. This is supported by the variant reading in my De Quincey copy (see below). The Columbia copy lacks the page. The New York Public Library copy has the *t*, with two thin oblique strokes, as if with a pen, and as if to make an *a*.

I have also a unique copy bound up in early nineteenth-century calf, with a copy of Wordsworth's *A Letter to a Friend of Robert Burns*, 1816; and two pamphlets of William Ellery Channing, Boston and London, 1828. Two greenish gray blank leaves of a very light shade are bound between each pair of tracts; and two precede the *Cintra*, which is the first piece in the volume. On the first page of a white flyleaf preceding these last, is a "Table of Contents" for the volume, in the hand of De Quincey.

The *Cintra* has the usual title-page (see above, page 42). On its upper right-hand margin is "from the Author," in what looks like the hand of Wordsworth. This title-page is preceded by a copy of the earlier title-page, of which Wise has seen but one other copy (see above, page 42). The earlier title is mounted on a leaf of the greenish gray paper. It corresponds exactly with the fac-

simile printed by Wise. The tract has pasted in between pages 96 and 99 the substituted leaf (pp. 97-98). Page 99 has adhering to its inner margin some remains of slate brown paper clearly pasted on before the inserted leaf was pasted closer to the inner edge. The tract extends to and includes the leaf with page 191. This last is pasted on a leaf of the thick greenish gray paper. There is no more of the printed tract. Next after the back of page 191 are bound eighteen leaves of plain white paper. The first nine of these contain sixteen and a half pages of manuscript, written on both sides of the leaves. The manuscript is apparently De Quincey's. It is headed "Appendix (supplied by T. De Quincey)." The name is identical with De Quincey's signature. The manuscript is a verbatim copy of the Appendix to the tract as it was printed. It stops at the end of Appendix F, the rest of the inserted leaves being blank. A peculiarity of this copy of the tract is that page 8, line 7 from end, reads, "by a revelation of a state of being that admits." The *a* in *ofa* is slightly defective, but is clearly an *a* and not a *t*. There is no space between it and *of*. A space of three letters follows *ofa* before "state." This copy contains, also, at the points indicated below (see page 75), corrections in De Quincey's hand of certain *errata*, mostly from the list that Sara Hutchinson sent him (see below, page 72): "I do not suppose they will give any pleasure, or be of much use, except for your own copy, unless a Second Edition should be called for. . . ." (LWF 1. 447).—This copy I purchased from P. J. and A. E. Dobell of London, May 25, 1915.

The variations in punctuation between the *Courier* articles (see above, pages 25, 27) and the parallel passages in the pamphlet, have already been indicated (see above, page 65).

The verbal variations are few and insignificant. They are as follows:

Courier, "dependencies which the English people are acquainted with," for "dependences [K, "dependencies"] with which the English people are acquainted" (1809, 3 l. 7; G, 37 l. 5; K, 113 l. 6; Oxf, 5 l. 6);—*Courier*, "and the universal participation in passion . . . which it necessarily included," for "and through the universal participation in passions . . . which this necessarily included" (1809, 3 l. 17; G, 37 l. 13; K, 113 l. 15; Oxf, 5 l. 17);—*Courier*, "we were astounded," for "we were astonished" (1809,

4. l. 3; G, 37 l. 25; K, 114 l. 8; Oxf, 6. l. 3);—*Courier*, “to give way in connection with him to that unqualified admiration of courage and skill, to be exalted . . . and purified . . . and benign dispositions to the horrors of ordinary war; it was felt that upon this mission the soldier would be abundantly recompensed by the enthusiasm of paternal love,” for “to give way to that unqualified admiration of courage and skill, made it impossible in relation to him to be exalted . . . and to be purified . . . and humane dispositions to the horrors of ordinary war; it was felt that for such loss the benign and accomplished soldier would upon this mission be abundantly recompensed by the enthusiasm of fraternal love” (1809, 5 l. 3; G, 38 l. 23; K, 115 l. 3; Oxf, 7 l. 2);—*Courier*, “as including with them an immense,” for “as associating them with an immense” (1809, 6 l. 26; G, 39 l. 30; K, 116 l. 17; Oxf, 8 l. 23);—*Courier*, “wrongs had been,” for “wrongs have been” (1809, 11 l. 5 from end; G, 43 l. 18; K, 120 l. 6 from end; Oxf, 13 l. 25);—*Courier*, “people of Spain, and as to their competence,” for “people of Spain, both as to their sanctity and truth, and as to their competence” (1809, 13 l. 22; G, 44 l. 26; K, 122 l. 13; Oxf, 15 l. 13);—*Courier*, “myself to point out,” for “myself to suggest” (1809, 13 l. 31; G, 44 l. 34; K, 122 l. 21; Oxf, 15 l. 22);—*Courier*, “Now, it is manifest,” for “It is manifest” (1809, 14 l. 9; G, 45 l. 4; K, 122 l. 7 from end; Oxf, 15 l. 2 from end);—*Courier*, “thoughts of final success,” for “thoughts of success” (1809, 15 l. 23; G, 46 l. 3; K, 124 l. 2; Oxf, 17 l. 11);—*Courier*, “publications, in addition to,” for “publications, sanctioned by” (1809, 15 l. 4 from end; G, 46 l. 13; K, 124 l. 12; Oxf, 17 l. 23);—*Courier*, “which have not been called,” for “which have not yet been called” (1809, 16 l. 2; G, 46 l. 17; K, 124 l. 17; Oxf, 17 l. 28);—*Courier*, “in proportion as the people,” for “in proportion as a people” (1809, 16 l. 7; G, 46 l. 20; K, 124 l. 22; Oxf, 17 l. 32);—*Courier*, “and the condition,” for “and condition” (1809, 16 l. 25; G, 46 l. 34; K, 124 last line; Oxf, 18 l. 13);—*Courier*, “found hard,” for “found harsh” (1809, 16 l. 2 from end; G, 47 l. 3; K, 125 l. 9; Oxf, 18 l. 24);—*Courier*, “by all aids and appliances in their power,” for “warrantable, by all aids and appliances”¹⁰⁴ (1809, 19 l. 4; G, 48 l. 23; K, 127 l. 4; Oxf, 20 l. 9 from end);—*Courier*, “physical powers,” for

¹⁰⁴ See *errata*, below, page 73.

"physical power" (1809, 21 l. 17; G, 50 l. 11; K, 129 l. 5; Oxf, 23 l. 4);—*Courier*, "army or sets of armies," for "army or set of armies" (1809, 23 l. 22; G, 51 l. 32; K, 130 l. 2 from end; Oxf, 25 l. 9);—*Courier*, "excellencies that render," for "excellencies which render" (1809, 23 l. 6 from end; G, 51 last line; K, 131 l. 8; Oxf, 25 l. 19);—*Courier*, "thing which I shall say," for "thing that I shall say" (1809, 24 l. 5; G, 52 l. 8; K, 131 l. 18; Oxf, 25 l. 8 from end).

As we have shown, the hoped-for second edition was not demanded. To Professor Henry Reed, the poet wrote on September 14, 1840 (LWF 3. 211), "I am much pleased by what you say in your letter of the 18th of May last upon the tract of *The Convention of Cintra*, and I think myself with some interest upon its being reprinted hereafter, along with my other writings. But the respect which, in common with all the rest of the rational part of the world, I bear for the Duke of Wellington, will prevent my reprinting the pamphlet during his life-time. . . . I am convinced that nothing they [the Duke's published dispatches] contain could alter my opinion of the injurious tendency of that or any other Convention conducted upon such principles."¹⁰⁵ Wordsworth is reported (*Memoirs* 2. 466) to have said, evidently late in his life, "I think my nephew, Dr. Wordsworth, will, after my death, collect and publish all I have written in prose." His biographer made a note on this, "On another occasion, I believe, he intimated a desire that his works in Prose should be edited by his son-in-law, Mr. Quillinan."

It was, however, twenty-six years after the poet's death when the first edition of his prose works was issued by Dr. A. B. Grosart, *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, 3 vols., London, 1876. This included (1. 31-194) the first reprint of the Cintra tract. Some notes were appended (1. 357-9). In the same edition, Grosart printed Wordsworth's letter of March 28, 1811, to Captain Charles Pasley, with its covering letter, both on the general theme of the tract. Twenty years later, Professor William Knight issued *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, 2 vols., London and New York, 1896, in which he included (1. 107-303) the second

¹⁰⁵ This letter is printed in full in the *Memoirs* 1. 420.—However much Professor Reed valued the tract, at the sale of his books, Mrs. St. John informs me, his copy of it brought only twenty cents.

reprint of the tract, and added the Pasley letters. The interest in Wordsworth's political views aroused by the Great War, led the Oxford Press to issue the first separate reprint, the third reprint, of the tract, in London, 1915, *Wordsworth's Tract / on the / Convention of Cintra / [Published 1809] / with / Two Letters of Wordsworth / Written in the Year 1811 / Now Republished / With an Introduction / By / A. V. Dicey*, pages xl + 244. The "two letters" are the Pasley letters.

Grosart claims (1. xxxviii), and a collation substantially supports the claim, that "Wordsworth's own [*i. e.*, those of the 1809 text] capitals, italics, punctuation, and other somewhat antique characteristics have been faithfully reproduced" in his reprint. Knight states regarding his reprint (PW 1. 113; see also 1. x.), "Several slight alterations in the text . . . have been necessary, owing to Wordsworth's inaccuracy as a reviser for the press, or his friends' inaccuracy in revising for him: *e. g.* the title of a paper, *Precautions*, is printed in three different ways in the original edition of 1809. It is made uniform in this one. Some archaic spellings have been changed, but those which were characteristic of the time are retained." Collation of the texts shows that Knight's statements are substantially correct—the variations being of the sort indicated, in the use of italics for quotation marks in titles, the employment of *etc.* for *&c.*, the change of some of the capitalization, and the like. None of the modifications are of importance. The Oxford reprint is based on Grosart, being evidently set up from a copy of Grosart's text. Professor Dicey informs me, however, that his secretary says "there were one or two cases in which the Press may apparently have used another edition." I have not collated this text throughout with Grosart's text. Probably the variations are those noted below in discussing the *errata*.

We have seen that Wordsworth was very greatly concerned over a number of errors that he discovered in the tract. He had Sara Hutchinson draw up for his letter of May 24 to De Quincey (LWF 1. 447) a list of *errata*, omitted from Knight's print of the letter, but printed by Japp.¹⁰⁶ The list comprises twelve items (not eleven, as Knight states), as follows: 1) Motto l. 6, for "zeal or

¹⁰⁶ *De Quincey Memorials*, New York, 1891, 1. 169. See above, page 56.

love," read "hate or love";—2) for "self-destroying," read "self-destroyed" (1809, 96 l. 10; G, 104 l. 7; K, 193 l. 6 from end; Oxf, 97 l. 25);—3) for "injury to itself," read "injury of itself" (1809, 123 l. 8; G, 123 l. 4 from end; K, 217 l. 23; Oxf, 124 l. 21);—4) for "obstinacy in them would," read "could" (1809, 123 l. 20; G, 124 l. 6; K, 217 l. 5 from end; Oxf, 124 l. 5 from end);—5) for "intimation, even to this Country," read "estimation even, to this Country" (1809, 153 l. 7 from end; G, 146 l. 17; K, 244 l. 20; Oxf, 155 l. 16);¹⁰⁷—6) for "principles," read "principle" (1809, 148 l. 46 from end; G, 142 l. 10 from end; K, 240 l. 6; Oxf, 150 l. 19);—7) for "loves," read "love" (1809, 169 l. 8 from end; G, 158 l. 4; K, 258 l. 20; Oxf, 171 l. 24);—8) for "triumph of human nature. It would," read "triumph of human nature, it would" (1809, 178 l. 17; G, 164 l. 21; K, 266 l. 8; Oxf, 180 l. 20);—9) for "calenture to which," read "calenture of fancy to which" (1809, 184 l. 7 from end; G, 169 l. 12; K, 271 l. 6 from end; Oxf, 187 l. 2);—10) for "act and deed," read "word and act" (1809, 188 l. 9; G, 171 l. 8 from end; K, 274 l. 7 from end; Oxf, 190 l. 16);—11) for "abuses," read "abusers" (1809, 186 l. 16; G, 170 l. 18; K, 273 l. 9; Oxf, 188 l. 22);—12) Latin quotation at the end, for "expletè nihil," read "expleti nihil" (1809, 191 l. 14; G, 174 l. 4; K, 277 l. 19; Oxf, 193 l. 19).

The 1809 copies of the tract regularly have an *errata* leaf. This contains eight items, none of which is in Sara Hutchinson's list: 1) for "not only the virtue," read "not only the virtues" (1809, 4 l. 6 from end; G, 38 l. 17; K, 114 l. 5 from end; Oxf, 6 l. 7 from end);—2) for "actually," read "actually" (1809, 7 l. 11; G, 40 l. 7; K, 116 l. 2 from end; Oxf, 9 l. 8);—3) begin a paragraph at "But, from the moment . . ." (1809, 8 l. 24; G, 41 ¶ 2; K, 118 ¶ 2; Oxf, 10 ¶ 2);—4) for "need not to say," read "need not say" (1809, 12 l. 26; G, 44 l. 1; K, 121 l. 22; Oxf, 14 l. 18);—5) for "warrantable, by all aids and appliances," read "by all warrantable aids and appliances" (1809, 19 l. 4; G, 48 l. 23; K, 127 l. 4; Oxf, 20 l. 9 from end);—6) for "twenty-three," read "twenty-two" (1809, 89 l. 6 from end; G, 99 l. 22; K, 188 l. 12; Oxf, 91 l. 13);—7) for "incidently," read "incidentally" (1809,

¹⁰⁷ Knight reads, "intimation even, to"; Grosart and Oxford read, "intimation, even to."

100 l. 14; G, 107 l. 6; K, 197 l. 17; Oxf, 101 l. 27);—8) for "In every part of the town were," read "In every part of the town where" (1809, 182 l. 11 from end; G, 167 l. 13 from end; K, 269 l. 2 from end; Oxf, 184 l. 5 from end).

Wordsworth stated (LLP 352) to Stuart that the *errata* just enumerated "were printed on another part of the same half sheet" as the corrected "contempt and hatred" leaf (see above, page 59), substituted as pages 97-98 of the tract. Wise says¹⁰⁸ that the paper of the *errata* leaf is "slightly thinner than that employed for the body of the work, and for the two cancel-leaves" (pages 97-98, 103-104). If the difference in paper exists, it is difficult to detect. He states questionably that, as the *errata* leaf is in all the copies that he has seen, it was "provided at a much earlier date" than the cancel-leaf or (as he says) "leaves." But if both these leaves were prepared for insertion at the same time, the *errata* might well be inserted, while the inner leaf might naturally be sometimes overlooked, just because its place is in the inner part of the pamphlet. Wise says the copies without the corrected leaf or "leaves" are "really rare," much rarer than those with the leaf or "leaves." He also states that the *errata* leaf follows page 216. I have seen only bound copies of the tract. In each of these the *errata* leaf is clean and follows the title leaf, and the dirty state of the page 216 shows that that was the last leaf of the book before some owner had it bound. It is true that my De Quincey copy, which lacks pages 193 to end, lacks the *errata* leaf—but this copy is a special copy.

In the letter of June 4 (LLP 353), the poet requested Stuart, in case of a second edition, to use for the press a copy "with the Errata corrected—both those first printed and those since sent off." What those "since sent off" were, I do not discover. Perhaps they are the corrections sent to De Quincey by Sara Hutchinson (see above, pages 56, 72), with the suggestion that they might be used for a second edition (LWF 1. 447).

Still another list is available. Sara Hutchinson requested (LWF 1. 448) De Quincey to correct with his pen the errors (apparently those in her list) in the copy he was to send to Lord Lonsdale. Japp has stated,¹⁰⁹ ". . . though many copies of the pam-

¹⁰⁸ *Bibliography of the Writings . . . of Wm. Wordsworth* 79.

¹⁰⁹ *De Quincey Memorials* 1. 166.

pamphlet were circulated with certain corrections made in ink in De Quincey's hand, one of these having been sent to Sir George Beaumont, the editor allowed the pamphlet to reappear [*sic!*] without them."

My De Quincey copy has the following corrections in De Quincey's hand: 1) Motto, "hate" for "zeal";—2) "say" for "to say" (1809, 12 l. 26; G, 44 l. 1; K, 121 l. 22; Oxf, 14 l. 18);—3) "destroyed" for "destroying" (1809, 96 l. 10; G, 104 l. 7; K, 193 l. 6; Oxf, 97 l. 25);—4) "distinguish" for "discover" (1809, 109 l. 13; G, 113 l. 10; K, 205 l. 14; Oxf, 110 l. 25);—5) "injury of," for "injury to" (1809, 123 l. 8; G, 123 l. 4 from end; K, 217 l. 23; Oxf, 124 l. 21);—6) "could," for "would" (1809, 123 l. 20; G, 124 l. 6; K, 217 l. 5 from end; Oxf, 124 l. 5 from end);—7) "love" for "loves" (1809, 169 l. 8 from end; G, 158 l. 4; K, 258 l. 20; Oxf, 171 l. 24);—8) "it" for ". It" (1809, 178 l. 17; G, 164 l. 21; K, 266 l. 9; Oxf, 180 l. 20);—9) "calenture of fancy" for "calenture" (1809, 184 l. 7 from end; G, 169 l. 12; K, 271 l. 6 from end; Oxf, 187 l. 2);—10) "abusers," for "abuses" (1809, 186 l. 16; G, 170 l. 18; K, 273 l. 9; Oxf, 188 l. 22);—11) "with word," for "with act" (*sic!*—1809, 188 l. 9; G, 171 l. 8 from end; K, 274 l. 7 from end; Oxf, 190 l. 16).

The copy owned by Southey, as is present owner, Mrs. St. John, of Ithaca, New York, has kindly informed me, has in ink all the corrections of the De Quincey copy, except No. 4. It has, the De Quincey has not, the "expleti" correction on page 191. Both the De Quincey copy and the Southey copy omit Nos. 5 and 6 of the Hutchinson list. They add two items (Nos. 2 and 4) not in the Hutchinson list. Item 2 of their lists is Item 4 of the printed *errata* issued with the pamphlet, and is the only item of that list that is entered in the inked corrections.

These various *errata* lists are not in themselves of great value. They acquire importance, however, to one interested in Wordsworth's state of mind and his wishes. Moreover, they are essential in the determining of a correct text, especially in view of their handling by the editors of the three reprints.

Grosart, Knight, and the Oxford Press, all adopt in their texts all the corrections in the printed *errata* issued with the pamphlet. Of the Hutchinson list, Knight adopts all the corrections except

No. 5, where he shifts the comma to follow "even," but does not substitute "estimation" for "intimation." Knight saw the original letter. Japp may have misread "estimation" for "intimation." Grosart and Dicey adopt none of the corrections of this list.

Of the inked corrections, Knight adopts all but No. 4. This and Nos. 1 and 2 are the only items of the inked corrections that do not appear in the Hutchinson list. Item 2 appears in the printed list. Item 1 appears in the letter (LWF 1. 446) in which the Hutchinson list was sent. Hence, while Knight used the printed and Hutchinson lists, he did not use the inked corrections, Grosart and the Oxford press correct none of the passages with the ink corrections, except No. 2, which is in the printed list. Clearly they used no *errata* list except the printed one.

It is evident that Knight's is the most correct text, as far as these *errata* go. It must be corrected by substituting "distinguish" for "discover" on its page 205 l. 14. We must bear in mind, however, that spellings, abbreviations, and the like, are preserved most closely in Grosart's text (see above, page 72), which is closely followed by the Oxford text.

But Knight must be corrected also for the libel passage that caused the cancellation of the leaf (see above, pages 53, 59). Apparently, Knight printed from a copy that had the original leaf. He has the original "contempt and hatred" reading (K, 194 ll. 8 ff. from end). Grosart printed from a copy with the corrected leaf, for he prints (K, 104 ll. 2 ff. from end) the corrected reading proposed by Wordsworth. Oddly, the Oxford text, which followed the text of Grosart, has (Oxf, 98 l. 9 from end) the original reading. So, curiously, after all the agitation, the delay of publication, and the expense, from changes, due to the fears of the author, the alteration of the passage, and the bungling at the printer's, the form of the sentence as it originally stood is the one in which it must be read in two of the three reprints, and in both the editions that are still "in print."

Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut.

A CORRECTION

Professor Rolfe sends the following note with reference to his *Marginalia*, published in *Studies in Philology*, October, 1920.

Prorsus, Vol. XVII, p. 405 f.

A growing collection of examples of *prorsus*, now numbering 160, has led the writer of this note to modify some of his views, as will appear in an article to be published later. M. Lejay does not make the remark attributed to him on p. 406, l. 5, an error discovered too late to correct.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVI, 1919

	PAGE
Morris W. Croll. The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose	1
George R. Coffman. The Miracle Play in England—Some Records of Presentation, and Notes on Preserved Plays	56
Dudley Miles. A Forgotten Hit: "The Nonjuror".....	67
A. H. R. Fairchild. Robert Bloomfield.....	78
A. G. H. Spiers. An Ill-Advised Criticism of "Cyrano de Bergerac".....	102
Sturgis E. Leavitt. Paul Scarron and English Travesty..	108
Editorial	121
Hanford, James Holly. Milton and the Return to Humanism	126
Thompson, Elbert N. S. Milton's Knowledge of Geography	148
Gilbert, Allan H. The Cambridge Manuscript and Milton's Plans for an Epic.....	172
Cook, Albert Stanburrough. Four Notes.....	177
Thaler, Alwin. Playwrights' Benefits, and "Interior Gath- ering" in the Elizabethan Theatre	187
Powell, C. L. The Castle of the Body.....	197
Recent Literature.....	206
Cross, Tom Peete. Witchcraft in North Carolina.....	217
Adams, Joseph Quincy. The Bones of Ben Jonson.....	289
Beatty, Joseph M. The Political Satires of Charles Churchill	303
G. Kenneth G. Henry. Roman Actors.....	334

Studies in Philology

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

EDWIN GREENLAW, Managing Editor

WILLIAM M. DEY

GEORGE HOWE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY STUDIES

CONTENTS

MORRIS W. CROLL—Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century, - - - - -	79
HENRY DAVID GRAY—Some Indications that 'The Tempest' was Revised, - - - - -	129
THORNTON S. GRAVES—Notes on Puritanism and the Stage, - - - - -	141
ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON—Mysticism in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, - - -	170
JAMES HOLLY HANFORD—Milton and the Art of War, - - - - -	232

Published Quarterly by

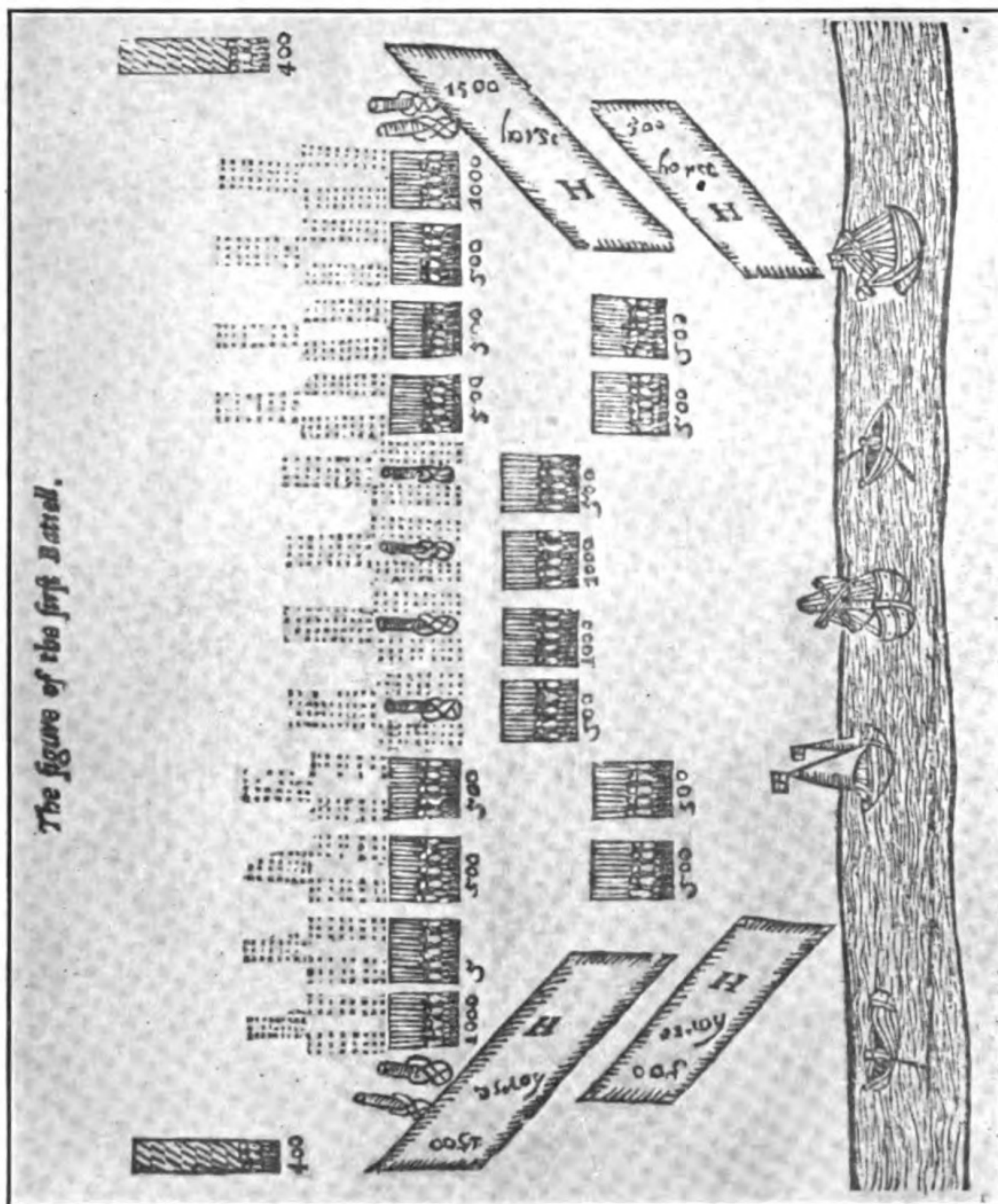
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Agent for Great Britain and the Continent:
Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4.

Yearly Subscription, \$3.00—Single Copies, \$1.00

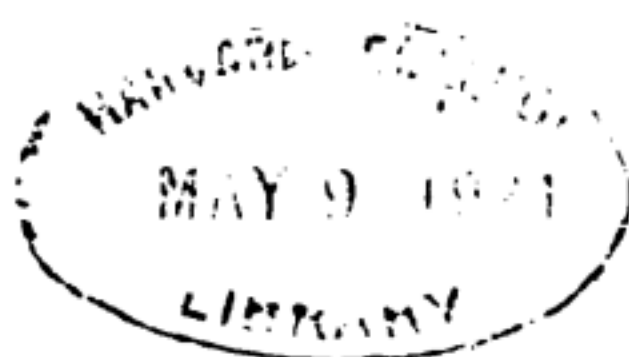
CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVII, 1920

	PAGE
Charles H. Grandgent. Dante's Verse.....	1
Charles Read Baskervill. Dramatic Aspects of Medieval Folk Festivals in England.....	19
E. S. Sheldon. Romance and Romanic.....	88
Tom Peete Cross. A Welsh Tristan Episode.....	93
William M. Dey. A Note on Old French "Por-" in English	111
Oliver Towles. Forms of Asseverative and Adjurative Prepositional Phrases in Old French.....	113
Robert Withington. Scott's Contribution to Pageantic Development—A Note on the Visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822.....	121
Henry David Gray. The "Titus Andronicus" Problem..	126
Merrit Y. Hughes. Spenser and Utopia.....	132
Allan H. Gilbert. Milton and the Mysteries.....	147
Thornton S. Graves. Notes on the Elizabethan Theatres..	170
Raymond Macdonald Alden. The Lyrical Conceits of the "Metaphysical Poets".....	183
Hyder E. Rollins. William Elderton: Elizabethan Actor and Ballad-Writer.....	199
Recent Literature.....	246
Alwin Thaler. Milton in the Theatre.....	269
James Holly Hanford. The Date of Milton's "De Doctrina Christiana"	309
Edwin Greenlaw. Spenser's Influence on "Paradise Lost"	320
G. H. Harrer and J. S. Moffatt, Jr. A Thirteenth-century Fragment of Justinian's Digest.....	361
B. L. Ullman. The Present Status of the Satura Question.	379
John C. Rolfe. Marginalia.....	402
George Howe. An Applied Literature.....	423
Edwin Greenlaw. Spenser and Lucretius.....	439



ARTILLERY MASKED BY INFANTRY

(From Robert Ward's *Animadversions of Warre*, 1639. The dots represent a plan view of the formations, the rear rank of each battalion being shown in elevation.) (See page 257.)



Studies in Philology

Volume XVIII

April, 1921

Number 2

"ATTIC PROSE" IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY MORRIS W. CROLL

I

Two terms present themselves to the literary historian seeking a name for the new kind of style that came into general use in Latin and all the vernacular languages at the end of the sixteenth century.¹ 'Anti-Ciceronian prose' has the merit of indicating the character of the controversy out of which the new tendency emerged victorious: it connects the successful movement led by Lipsius,

¹It is perhaps necessary to say that the present paper is part of a more extended study with the same title, the object of which is to show that the successful Anti-Ciceronian movement inaugurated by Muret, Lipsius, Montaigne, and Bacon, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, gave a new direction to European prose-style and determined its characteristic forms throughout the seventeenth century. For the history of this movement and the description of the forms of style which it created, the reader must be referred to other parts of this study, not yet published.

Various discussions of the Ciceronian movement of the Renaissance are familiar, and in all of these the earlier phases of the opposition to it—led by Erasmus, Pico, and others—receive due attention. On the other hand, the decisive Anti-Ciceronian movement of the last quarter of the century has heretofore received but cursory mention, as by Norden (*Die Antike Kunstprosa*, 778-9), Sandys (*Ciceronianism*, in *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning*), and Izora Scott (*Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero*, 106-111). Miss Scott concludes with the unhappy statement that "barring a few individual dissertations . . . controversial writing on the question ceased with the contribution of Muretus." An account as full as the limits of my subject permitted is given in my paper in the *Revue du Seizième Siècle* (II, 1914, 200-242) on *Juste Lipse et le Mouvement Anti-Cicéronien*.

Montaigne, and Bacon [with the frustrated efforts of Erasmus, Budé, and Pico early in the sixteenth century.] But it is open to several objections. In the first place, it indicates only revolt, suggests only destructive purposes in a movement that had a definite rhetorical program. Secondly, it may be taken as describing a hostility to Cicero himself, in the opinions of the new leaders, instead of to his sixteenth-century "apes," whereas in fact the supreme *rhetorical* excellence of Cicero was constantly affirmed by them, as it was by the ancient Anti-Ciceronians whom they imitated.² And thirdly, it was not the term usually employed in contemporary controversy, and was never used except by enemies of the new movement. The only name by which its leaders and friends were willing to describe the new style during the century of its triumph, from 1575 to 1700, was "Attic."

For these reasons "Attic" is the preferable term, and [should take its place in literary history as the name of the dominant tendency in seventeenth-century prose-style in contrast with that of the sixteenth century.] To use it at the present time, however, for this purpose, without a full and clear explanation of the meaning attached to it could only cause positive misunderstanding or utter confusion. For it is a word that has suffered vicissitudes. In current and uncritical literary writing of the last two centuries it has often been employed to designate a style conformed to the conversational customs of a well-trained and sophisticated society—the society of Paris in the eighteenth century rather than of Athens in the age of Pericles. This meaning, it is true, was imposed by a later age than the seventeenth century and might safely be disregarded, the more safely, indeed, because it does not correspond to any of the more important meanings recognized as sound by the best students of antiquity. But unhappily in the usage of classical scholars themselves the word does not now carry a single and definite meaning; and the most recent researches tend to add complexity rather than clearness to its history. For the truth is that it was never a formalized word of rhetorical theory in ancient

² Montaigne is franker than any other of the leaders in expressing a dislike of Cicero. Yet he admires his *eloquence*. "There is no real excellence in him," he says, "unless his eloquence itself is so perfect that it might be called a real and substantive excellence." Of course part of the point of this is, however, in the implied doubt of the value of pure eloquence, in itself; for no Ciceronian would think of doubting it.

criticism, such as can be used for definition; it always tended to be a nickname of compliment or eulogy, and was subject to the variations of meaning that we may observe in many similar words of the modern critical vocabulary. There was a disposition, it is true, to associate it in Roman criticism with one of the two great "characters of style" of which we will speak presently. But on the other hand it might denominate a *quality* of style, vaguely associated with Athens in the time of its glory, which neither of the "characters" could afford to neglect and which might appear equally well in either. Or again it could be used in its exact geographical sense, of any author who lived at Athens, without reference to either the quality or the character of his style.

All the trees in this forest have again been studied close-up by recent scholars; and we are now no more competent to give a comprehensive definition of 'Attic' than the ancients themselves were. Evidently any one who wants to use the term at the present time for the purpose of identification must explain what he means by it. If this involved an attempt to discuss the many questions still in controversy among the classicists, or to adjust the relations of the various ancient meanings of the word that have been mentioned, it would be too pretentious an undertaking for one who is not a trained classicist. But we are not concerned here with any of these thorny problems. Our business is to understand 'Attic' as the seventeenth-century critics did; and they at least had a clear idea of what they meant by it, and used it to define the stylistic purposes of their own age. It meant in their critical vocabulary one of two kinds or characters of style made familiar to them in modern and vernacular use by the imitation of antiquity since the beginning of the Renaissance, and corresponding, as they saw, roughly but definitely enough with the two leading "characters," or *genera dicendi*, distinguished by ancient criticism.³ This limitation of meaning will serve as a clue to guide us through all complexities.

Classical scholars may not, therefore, feel highly rewarded by the present survey, and it is not in their interest that it is undertaken. Yet it may have some value even for them. For the word 'Attic' had a lively, contemporary interest in the seventeenth

³Of course in the matured ancient theory there are *three* characters. See explanation, however, below, pp. 87 ff. and 104 ff.

century that it has never had since, and was used by men whose own writings were, by intention at least, direct continuations of ancient Latin literature. Their knowledge was limited in its range as compared with that of the most accomplished modern classicists; but as far as it went it was both sounder and more vivid than that of any later generation. It is possible that their use of the term we are considering will help to simplify a problem which has been greatly confused by the investigation of details; and it is certain that it is truer to ancient usage than that which has been current in popular criticism since the eighteenth century.

II.

The seventeenth century, then, regarded the history of ancient prose-style chiefly as a story of relations and conflicts between two modes of style, which—for the sake of the utmost simplification—we may characterize at once (in modern terms) as the oratorical style and the essay-style, and may describe by the kind of ornament most used in each. The oratorical style was distinguished by the use of the *schemata verborum*, or 'schemes,' as we may call them, which are chiefly similarities or repetitions of sound used as purely sensuous devices to give pleasure or aid the attention. The essay-style is characterized by the absence of these figures, or their use in such subtle variation that they cannot easily be distinguished, and, on the other hand, by the use of metaphor, aphorism, antithesis, paradox, and the other figures which, in one classification, are known as the *figurae sententiae*, the figures of wit or thought.⁴—But of course such characterizations are mere caricature, and serve only as convenient labels. The form and history of the two styles must be fully considered.

The first is of earlier origin: it is the style in which prose first came to be recognized as a proper object of artistic cultivation among the Greeks. According to the sketchy and untrustworthy reports of ancient literary historians, Gorgias was its "inventor"; but this may mean no more than that he first formulated and systematized for teaching purposes the 'schemes' which serve to

⁴The division of the figures into *schemata verborum* and *figurae sententiae* is here adopted because it represents the opposition of styles that we are concerned with. There were, of course, other classifications in antiquity, based on other principles.

ornament it, and especially the three most important of these, which still go by his name in rhetorical theory: and it is almost certain that even these figures originated long before Gorgias' time, in certain liturgical or legal customs of the primitive Greek community.⁵ The next stage in its history is associated with the name of Isocrates, a disciple of Gorgias, to whom is always attributed the elaboration of the form of the rhythmic "period" and the subordination to this, in their proper artistic relation to it, of the 'Gorgianic schemes.' Isocrates was the most important of all that class of teachers to whom Socrates and Plato have given a much worse reputation than they deserve. The sophistic scheme of education included a great use of oratory because it was founded on a study of politics; the individual man was conceived as a kind of mirror reflecting the character and interests of his town or state, and his literary education was wholly determined by the customs of the forum and the public uses of rhetoric.⁶

In spite of all opposition from the philosophers this type of education spread generally throughout the Greek world, in the colonies perhaps even more widely than in the home cities, and was disseminated in the Hellenistic period throughout the greater part of the Mediterranean world. And with it, of course, went the 'sophistic' rhetoric everywhere, now exfoliating in *cultus* and flamboyancy under the influence of provincial tastes, now degenerating into a merely puerile and academic employment of the schemes, or again assuming the normal grandeur of its proportions and the purity of its design, but preserving through all variations the essential features of its form as they had been perfected by Isocrates. In fact the conventionalized oratory of the sophistic schools must be considered not only the most conspicuous contribu-

⁵ They are:—1) *Isocolon*, approximate equality of length between members of a period; 2) *Parison*, similarity of form between such equal members, as in the position of the nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.; 3) *Paromoion*, likeness of sound between words thus similarly placed. Descriptions of them may be found in Volkmann's *Rhetorik d. Griechen u. Römer*, pp. 40-49, in Landmann's *Euphuismus*, Child's *John Lyly and Euphuism*, in the *Introduction* to Lyly's *Euphues*, ed. Croll and Clemons, or better in a number of the medieval treatises collected in Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores*. They may be briefly described as the chief figures by which oratorical concinnity is effected.

⁶ E. M. Cope's *Introduction* to his translation of the *Gorgias* (London, 1883) gives a clear statement of the character of sophistic education.

tion of the Greeks to the prose-style of Europe, but also the standard and normal form of their own prose, of which all other forms are variations, and to which it always returned as to the true rhetorical point of departure. Nor did it perish with the passing of classical Greek culture. It lived again in the Roman rhetoric which culminated in the oratory of Cicero, and survived, to enjoy still longer and stranger destinies, in the teaching of the Christian schools of the Middle Ages.

The form of Isocratean rhetoric need not detain us long here; we are concerned with it only in its relation with the style that arose in opposition to it, and the only point that it is necessary to emphasize here is the sensuous character of its appeal to its audience. Its "round composition" and the "even falling of its clauses" do not always satisfy the inward ear of the solitary reader. Heard solely by the reflective mind, it is an empty, a frigid, or an artificial style. But it is not meant for such a hearing. It is addressed first, like music, to the physical ear; and the figures with which its large and open design are decorated have been devised with a reference to the attentive powers and the aural susceptibilities of large audiences, consisting of people of moderate intelligence, and met amid all the usual distractions of public assemblage—as Cicero says, *in sole et pulvere*.

In their appropriate place they are the legitimate resource of a great popular art, and their fitness for their ends is vindicated by the fact that they reappear whenever the necessary conditions of popular eloquence are satisfied. But it is evident that their literary adaptability is strictly limited. They offer nothing that is pleasing to an intellect intent upon the discovery of reality; and a people like the Greeks, in whom philosophic curiosity was quite as strong an incentive to literary art as the love of sensuous forms, would not long resist the temptation to ridicule or parody them, and to study modes of expression deliberately contrasted with them. The beginning of the history of the essay-style among them follows hard, as we should expect, upon that of the oratorical, in the lifetime indeed of the reputed founder of the latter.

In his dialogue named from the orator, Plato relates a conversation that is supposed to occur on a visit of Gorgias to Athens in about the year 405, when Gorgias was perhaps eighty years of age. Socrates had been invited to meet him at dinner and hear him deliver a new oration that he had prepared. Socrates

avoided the proffered entertainment, probably with some malice; but, either by accident or design, met the dinner party on its way home, and was again invited to hear an oration by the master—this time at Callicles' house. Socrates went with the party, but asked whether Gorgias would not consent to converse with him instead of speaking to him. In the long conversation that followed the philosopher succeeded by his unequalled dialectic art in making Gorgias and one of his disciples acknowledge that the true aim of education is not the art of persuasion, but how to see and like the truth, how to know right from wrong and love it; and gave an original turn to the whole theory of style by showing that it is at best a kind of cookery which makes things palatable whether they are good for us or not, whereas the study of morality is like medicine, which puts the soul in a state of health and keeps it there.

In this dialogue of Plato's, and in the *Phaedrus*, which treats the same theme, are laid the foundations of a new interpretation of the functions of rhetoric, wholly different from those of oratory, and of the practise of a style appropriate to these functions. But it is not fair to say that Plato and Socrates foresaw such an outcome of their controversy with the sophists, or would have been pleased by it if they had done so. Cicero complained that it was Socrates who first instituted the opposition between philosophy and oratory which, as he properly observed, is fatal to the highest development of the latter; and this statement seems to represent the attitude of Socrates in the *Gorgias* with substantial correctness. The purport of his argument is almost certainly that in the public life of a sound commonwealth, and, with still more reason, in the private activities of its citizens, there would be no use of an art of rhetoric of any kind. The Protestant, or Puritan, divorce of spirit and sense is apparent in his treatment of the subject, and he has apparently not thought of the possibility that a new theory of style could be erected on the foundation of his opposition to oratory and its forms.

History shows, however, that when you put rhetoric out at the door it comes in at the window, and the inevitable next step in the development of the ideas of Socrates and Plato was their systemization with reference to an art of prose composition. Aristotle effected this in the first two Books of his *Rhetoric*, which have served as the starting point of all subsequent theories of style that have called themselves "modern." This book was a wholly new

thing in the world; for the theory of rhetoric was here worked out for the first time, not on the basis of the susceptibilities of audiences, and the aural effect of language, but on the basis of the processes of reasoning and in strict relations with the science of logic. Speaking roughly, we may say that the *Rhetoric* treats for the first time the art of writing, as opposed to the art of speaking.⁶⁶

This statement will have to be very carefully guarded, however; for there is an astonishing inconsistency in the work, which it will be useful to consider here for a moment. After treating style in the first two books as dependent upon the forms of thought, Aristotle discusses, in the third book, which is about style, a form which is not distinguishable from the Isocratean oratorical style, except that he lays an emphasis perhaps on shorter periods and treats the oratorical figures very simply. The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that the two parts were composed for different purposes at different times. The first is the work of a philosopher seeking to explain the part that rhetoric is observed to play in the life of man, and is not meant to have anything to do with the practise of the art; the second is a purely objective description of the form of style which he saw in actual use, the only describable, conventionalized form then in existence.⁶⁷ Of course this explanation does not get rid of the essential inconsistency of his two modes of treatment. Nothing can do that; for it is involved in Aristotle's theory, and we encounter here for the first time a phenomenon that meets us at every point in the later history of the intimate or essay style, namely, the slipperiness of all rhetorical theory when it tries to establish itself on anything other than the sensuous character of language and the social conventions that give it opportunity and effect. When it aspires to be the art of presenting things or thought in their essential character and their true lineaments, rhetoric at once begins to lose its identity and be dissolved into one or another of the sciences. It is an art, in short, and every art is a social convention.

But we need go no further into this subject at present; what

⁶⁶ For the relation between the ideas of Plato and those of the *Rhetoric* see Cope, *Gorgias*, xxv-xxvi, and Hendrickson, *Origin and Meaning of the Characters of Style*, Amer. Journal of Phil., xxvi, 249-251.

⁶⁷ On the inconsistency spoken of see Hendrickson, as above, 254-5. Norden speaks of inconsistencies of the same kind between the *Rhetoric* and other works of Aristotle (see *Antike Kunstprosa*, 125-6).

concerns us is that Aristotle's *Rhetoric* exactly represents the state of unstable equilibrium which had necessarily followed Plato's attack upon oratory. A new use of prose-style had now attained general recognition as a form of art—in brief the use of style for the purposes of philosophy and as closely related to the art of dialectic; and on the basis of this new conception of the purpose of prose-discourse Aristotle had erected the theory of the art of rhetoric. But in the meantime the older, traditional, oratorical customs had not yielded to the vigor of Plato's attack, but on the contrary were as flourishing as ever, and were universally recognized, even by Aristotle, as displaying the form of style which, in a purely rhetorical sense, is the ideal and abstract best. In other words, theory and the tradition of practice were in conflict, and Aristotle had done nothing to reconcile them.

The recognition of this difficulty was what determined the next step in the development of Greek rhetorical theory. The followers of Aristotle resolved it in a purely empirical way by recognizing a division of prose-style into two distinct characters or *genera*, which henceforward played the leading rôle in all the rhetorical criticism of antiquity. At a later stage in the development a third "character" was added and appears in all Latin criticism; but in the most recent and much the best treatment of the subject this addition is considered as a makeshift which tends to confuse the principle on which the original division was based.* We shall have to speak of it in its place; but the main facts of modern stylistic history, as of the ancient, are best represented by a consideration of the two characters which first make their appearance in Theophrastus and are more clearly defined in later successors of Aristotle.

The first was known as the *genus grande* or *nobile*. It was the rhetorical style of the Gorgianic tradition, and the adjectives used to describe it indicate the character it was originally supposed to have. When it was practised independently of the social and political conditions upon which it depends for its greatest success, its elaborate form and ornamental figures, studied merely for their

* In all that concerns the history of the three characters of style and the relations between the *genus grande* and the *genus humile* in ancient theory, I follow the convincing article by Professor G. L. Hendrickson cited in the preceding notes, and its companion, "*The Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters*, in vol. XXV of the same publication.

own charm, gave it a character of *cultus*, or empty ornateness; and it was so portrayed at certain periods by its opponents. But the true nature of the *genus grande* is to be broad and general in its scope, large and open in design, strong, energetic, vehement. Tacitus ridicules its degenerate practitioners as minstrels or dancers, in allusion to the musical beauty of their rhythms;⁹ but Cicero in more than one passage compares the true orator with the tragic actor, in allusion to the breadth and passion of his portrayal of life.¹⁰

The newer style, which had appeared in opposition to this, was known as the *genus humile* or *submissum* (*demissum*), but its quality is better indicated by the more descriptive appellations often given to it, or to branches or varieties of it: *lene*, *subtile*, insinuating, flexible, subtle. A style of this general character would naturally have many particular forms. It might, for instance, become a deliberately rude, formless, negligent style—*décousu*, as Montaigne says of his own—in order to express contempt for *cultus*, or even for rhetoric itself, and a love of "honest" simplicity; on the other hand, it might emulate the colloquial ease and *mondanité* of good conversation, in intended contrast with the vulgar pomp of public oratory, and be distinguished as elegant, graceful, *nitidus*; or again it might declare its superiority to popular tastes, as in the hands of the Stoics, by affecting a scornful and significant brevity of utterance. All of these and other species of the *genus* were recognized by the ancients as actually existing, or as having existed at different times and places, and were distinguished by appropriate terms.¹¹ But the *genus* as a whole is properly characterized by its origin in *philosophy*. Its function is to express individual variances of experience in contrast with the general and communal ideas which the open design of the oratorical style is so well adapted to contain. Its

⁹ *Plerique jactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos. Dial. de Or., 26.* It is interesting that the reformers of style in the Renaissance compared the corrupt medieval form of the *genus grande* to minstrel's elocution. See my *Introduction* to Lyly's *Euphues*, p. xlii.

¹⁰ For example, in *Brutus* 201: *Grandis et, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator.*

¹¹ See, for instance, the classification by Demetrius: graceful, plain, and arid; all of these being species which, in a different classification from Demetrius', would form parts of the *genus humile*. See also Diogenes Laertius, *Life of Zeno*, and Quintilian, XII, 10, 20-27.

idiom is that of conversation or is adapted from it, in order that it may flow into and fill up all the nooks and crannies of reality and reproduce its exact image to attentive observation.¹²

As to its specific rhetorical forms nothing needs to be said here; they will be considered fully elsewhere. But a general point must be urged which is often, or usually, ignored by admirers of a *genus humile*, and even by those who practise it, though the neglect of it is a prolific source of aberration both in theory and practise. And this is the point that its rhetorical forms are modifications, adaptations of those of the oratorical style. The ancients were very slow to recognize any kind of literary customs other than oral ones; and even in the *genres* that were obviously meant for silent reading, such as the letter, the form of the style was controlled by the ear. This is a sound principle at all times, and for all kinds of style, and its operation cannot be escaped even though it is forgotten or denied. There is only one rhetoric, the art of the beauty of spoken sounds. In oratory this beauty displays itself in its most obvious, explicit, exfoliated forms; in the *genus humile* in much more delicate, implicit, or mingled ones. But the forms are ultimately the same, and whatever beauty of style we find in the most subtle and intimate kinds of discourse could be explained—if there were critics skillful and minute enough—in terms of oratorical effect.

The history of Greek and Roman style is chiefly the story of the relations of the *genus grande* and the *genus humile*. Theoretically the two kinds are not hostile or exclusive of each other; Cicero is always anxiously insisting that they are both necessary in their proper places and relations to the oratory that he dreamed of as the perfection of literary art. But in fact they almost always proved to be rivals; and different schools, even long and important literary periods, distinguish themselves by their preference for one of them, their dislike of the other.

¹² Quintilian's metaphor (XII, 10, 37) is beautiful. Advising the Romans to cultivate the grand style rather than the 'Attic,' he says: "Greek keels, even the little ones, know well their ports; let ours usually travel under fuller sails, with a stronger breeze swelling our canvas. . . . They have the art of threading their way through the shallows; I would seek somewhat deeper waters, where my bark may be in no danger of foundering."

III

It proved to be so again during the formative period of modern prose-style. The literary movement which is the subject of the present discussion was a successful attempt to substitute the philosophical *genus humile* for the oratorical *genus grande* in the general practice of authors and the general favor of readers.

Both the customs and the spirit of sixteenth-century life demanded literary expression in oratorical forms. It was a period of social unity, or at least of social unities. Brittle, temporary, illusory, these unities were; yet they were effective and brilliant while they lasted, and created the congregational and social customs which are favorable to a spoken literature. Even the religious controversy, so destructive of European society in the long run, had the opposite effect at first. For it consolidated large masses of people in devotion to a common cause, and gathered them together in popular assemblies which listened with a new motive for attention to discourses in the traditional forms of popular oration.

More important than all partisan loyalties, however, was the new feeling of national unity which made itself felt almost everywhere during this century. Whatever divisive forces were latent in the religious controversy were controlled and subordinated by centripetal tendencies in the political world; and the bitterest sectarian foes were compelled to share, with at least a semblance of concord and common loyalty, in the dazzling social and public life that centered in the courts of princes and in the cities that swarmed about them and took them as their models of conduct and manners. We hear remarkably little, during this period, of solitary and contemplative existences, of local characters, or of the self-dependent individualism of the country-house. Everyone was present, either in fact or in idea, at court, and the most striking opportunities for literary distinction were offered at the constant gatherings, public or semi-public, more or less formal, which attended its various ceremonies and progresses and procedures. The occasions for the public display of stylistic art in the presence of the sovereign or one of his (or her) greater satellites were many: in the minor circles of courtiers and ladies-in-waiting they were innumerable. We should doubtless be greatly astonished, if we were able to

recover a complete picture of the court-life of the time, to observe how many of the uses of books like *Il Cortegiano*, Guevara's *Libro Aureo*, the *Arcadia*, and *Euphues* were oral rather than literary. It is probable that these books—and there is no reason why we should not add Ariosto's and Spenser's epics—were habitually read aloud in assemblies of which we can now form but a faint picture in our minds, and were indeed composed chiefly with a view to such performance. When we add that solitary reading with the eye was only beginning to be a customary form of entertainment, we are prepared to understand why the literary education of the Renaissance was almost wholly conducted by means of the practise of oratory.

The various forms of prose-style that resulted from this training need not be distinguished here. They were as various, of course, as the elements of the literary tradition in which the Renaissance was living. They were partly (indeed chiefly) medieval, partly classical, partly popular or folk forms. But it is enough for our present purpose to observe that all of them, by whatever channels they had come to the culture of the sixteenth century, had their ultimate origin in the Gorgianic, or Isocratean type of oratory that we have been discussing in the preceding section. That this is true of the style taught by the orthodox humanists is well-known: their aim was to teach their pupils to "write Cicero." But it is also true of the many kinds of style due to the survival of medieval educational customs and social modes: the forms of preaching-style, for instance, that were prevalent until after the middle of the century, both in Latin and the vernacular; the style employed in letters composed for social display or amusement; the aureate style affected by those accustomed to Renaissance courtly ceremony, as in the show-speeches of knights in tournaments, or in begging or complimentary addresses to sovereigns; and the literary *cultismo* practised in many moral treatises and romances, as by Guevara, Sidney, and Lyly. However unclassical all these may be in their effect upon our ears and taste, they have one character in common: they are all arrived at by the elaboration of the "schemes," or figures of sound, that have been described as the chief ornaments of the Isocratean oratory. And that is all that is necessary in order to fix them in their place in the one great European tradition of oratorical style.

Against the literary tyranny of this tradition, and more particu-

larly against its sixteenth-century efflorescence, the representatives of the modern spirit of progress were in revolt during the last quarter of the century. The temporary unities of the Renaissance were evidently breaking up; and the literary customs that had flowered upon them responded immediately to the tokens of their decay. The historian versed in the poetry of this period can detect the coming of the severer air of the seventeenth century in the new distaste that declares itself everywhere for the copious and flowing style of Ariosto and Spenser, and the "tedious uniformity" of Petrarchanism: the student of prose-style is made aware of it at an even earlier date by the eager malice with which some of the new leaders recognize the artificiality of the oratorical customs of their time.

It was Muret, it seems, that remarkable prophet of seventeenth-century ideas, who first tossed this straw into the wind. In one of the latest and boldest of his academic discourses he asserts that the reasons for the practise of oratory in the time of his rhetorical predecessors, Bembo and Sadoletto, are no longer of any effect in the present age, because the real concerns of political life, and even the most important legal questions, are no longer decided in the public audience-chambers of the senates and courts, but in the private cabinets of ministers of state and in the intimacy of conversation.¹⁸ It was a cynical observation, perhaps, but a true one, justifying Machiavelli's wonderful realism at last, and foretelling the Richelieus, Bacons, and Cecils of a later generation.

Like his fellows in the new rationalism Muret arrived at his ideas by the first-hand study of facts. But he was like them too in that he desired to support his case by classical authority. The source of the passage just alluded to seems to be the discussion at the opening of the *Rhetoric* in which Aristotle explains that the justification of oratory is to be found in the imperfection and weakness of judgment characteristic of an uneducated public, incapable of distinguishing truth from error by the tedious processes of reason. Aristotle was perhaps the only ancient author whose authority was great enough to stand against that of Cicero on a question of this kind, and this famous statement in the

¹⁸ Oration of 1582, introducing his course on the *Epistolae ad Atticum*; see also his double oration of 1580, defending himself for the public teaching of Tacitus, which had made him the object of open attack and secret intrigue.

Rhetoric was eagerly seized on by the anti-oratorical critics of the seventeenth century: its echoes are heard from Muret and Bacon to Pascal and Arnauld. But the same idea came to the Anti-Ciceronian leaders from other ancient sources; and it is to be observed that they find a more specific appropriateness to the circumstances of their own time in the magnificent description of the decline of Roman oratory during the Empire which Tacitus puts into the mouth of Maternus in his *Dialogue*.¹⁴ This passage played a great part in forming Muret's ideas; but the first clear intimation of its vital relation to modern life is found in Montaigne's essay on *The Vanity of Words* (I, 51). After some introductory words suggested by the *Gorgias* of Plato, and the passage of Aristotle already mentioned, Montaigne goes on to say that oratory has flourished most in states where "the vulgar, the ignorant, or the populace have had all power, as in Rhodes, Athens, and Rome," and in periods of turmoil and civil strife, as at Rome during the Republic; "even as a rank, free, and untamed soil," he continues, "beareth the rankest and strongest weeds."

Whereby it seemeth that those commonweals which depend of an absolute monarch have less need of it than others. For that foolishness and facility which is found in the common multitude, and which doth subject the same to be managed, persuaded, and led by the ears by the sweet-alluring and sense-entrancing sound of this harmony, without duly weighing, knowing, or considering the truth of things by the force of reason: this facility and easy yielding, I say, is not so easily found in one only ruler, and it is more easy to warrant him from the impression of this poison by good institution and sound counsel.

Is he looking back toward the Roman Empire or forward to the régime of absolutism beginning to be established in his own time? One cannot tell. In the literature of the period that was then beginning these two historical phenomena are always presenting themselves side by side. For example, in a passage of Etienne Pasquier, plainly suggested by the same discourse in Tacitus' dialogue: "Tels fanfares sont propres, en une democratie, a un orateur en tout voue et ententif a la surprise du peuple par doux

¹⁴ Chapters 36-41. Rigault, *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, Chapter I, has made an admirable use of this dialogue as one of the starting-points in antiquity of the modern idea of progress. An interesting paper might be written on the effect of the Anti-Ciceronian agitation on the growth of this idea.

traits et emmiellement de sa rhétorique: Ce qui ne se presenta onc entre nous." ¹⁵

Political motives, however, were not the ones that weighed most with the Anti-Ciceronian leaders. Their scientific interests and above all their universal preoccupation with moral questions played a still greater part in determining their rhetorical program. The old claims of philosophy to precedence over formal rhetoric, long ago asserted by Plato, are revived by them in much the old terms, and the only justification they will admit for the study of style is that it may assist in the attainment of the knowledge of oneself and of nature. "The art of writing and the art of managing one's life are one and the same thing" is the motto of Montaigne and all his followers. "As for me," writes Lipsius to Montaigne in 1588, "I mightily scorn all those external and polite kinds of studies, whether philosophical or literary, and indeed every kind of knowledge that is not directed by prudence and judgment to the end of teaching the conduct of life." ¹⁶ Bacon deprecates the harsh treatment of rhetoric by Plato and labors its justification in the *Advancement of Learning*; but he treats it as a subordinate part of dialectic or logic, as Aristotle does, and in certain portions of its subject-matter as identical with moral or political philosophy. ¹⁷ Le Mothe le Vayer is more express and clear than any of his predecessors. They have all praised the new *genres*, the letter and

¹⁵ Works, Amsterdam ed. of 1723, I, 2 (ed. Feugère, Letter 1). Andreas Schott develops at length the relation between the decline of oratory and the political conditions at the downfall of the Republic, in the prefatory letter (to Lipsius) of his edition of the elder Seneca.

¹⁶ Epp. Misc., II, 41.

¹⁷ Book II (*De Augmentis Scientiarum*, VI, chap. 3). "For although in true value it is inferior to wisdom, . . . yet with people it is the more mighty." Its function is "to contract a confederacy between the Reason and Imagination against the Affections"; and again: "Logic handleth reason exact and in truth, and Rhetoric handleth it as it is planted in popular opinions and manners." The chief defect that he notes in the study of rhetoric is that too little attention has been paid to the study of *private* modes of discourse. In this art orators are likely to be defective, "whilst by the observing their well-graced forms of speech they lose the volubility (i. e., the subtlety or flexibility) of application." He then proceeds to supply this defect in part by making a collection of aphorisms and antitheses on the moral and political life of man, which he greatly extended in the *De Augmentis*, observing that whether this belongs to politics (prudential wisdom) or to rhetoric is a question of no importance.

the essay; but he professes at the beginning of his discussion of rhetoric¹⁸ to treat of written style alone, *la rhétorique des livres*, a style to be read, not heard: all that has to do with speaking he repudiates.

This is the general attitude of the leaders of opinion in the first half of the century. In the second half it is not changed, but, on the contrary, is more clearly defined. Bayle speaks of the *faux éclat* of oratory. "Ces messieurs la (les orateurs) ne se soucient guère d'éclairer l'esprit . . . ils vont droit au coeur, et non pas droit à l'entendement: ils tachent d'exciter l'amour, la haine, la colère,"¹⁹ Bayle displays the scorn and intolerance that have always been characteristic of the scientific rationalist; but with proper deductions his opinions may be taken as characteristic of the age of La Bruyère, Arnauld, Fénelon, and Malebranche, of the Port-Royal community and the Royal Society of London. The temporary success of Puritanism and Quietism, the rapid progress of scientific method, and the diffusion of Cartesian ideas, all in their different ways helped to create a taste for a bare and level prose-style adapted merely to the exact portrayal of things as they are. The severest theorists indeed can hardly be brought to recognize a difference between logic and rhetoric; while even the most liberal would exclude the characteristic beauties of oratorical form from the legitimate resources of literary art. Persuasion is indeed the object of rhetoric. But the legitimate means of attaining this end, they constantly assert, is not by the sensuous appeal of oratorical rhythm, but, on the contrary, by portraying in one's style exactly those athletic movements of the mind by which it arrives at a sense of reality and the true knowledge of itself and the world.²⁰ Fénelon is the harshest critic of Isocrates and his

¹⁸ *De l'Éloquence Française* (Works, iv, Paris, 1684), pp. 4-7. He also has a treatise *Sur la Composition et sur la Lecture des Livres* (Works, vol. XIII). Whether a work had ever been written before on this subject I cannot say.

¹⁹ *Oeuvres Diverses*, III, 178. Compare same, I, 645, vi; and his *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *Pitiscus*, A.

²⁰ "La principale partie de l'éloquence consiste à concevoir fortement les choses et à les exprimer en sorte qu'on en porte dans l'esprit des auditeurs une image vive et lumineuse, qui ne présente pas seulement les choses toutes nues, mais aussi les mouvements avec lesquels on les conçoit." Arnauld, *Logique*, III, chap. 9. Compare Fénelon, *Dialogues sur l'Éloquence* II: "Toute l'éloquence se réduit à prouver, à peindre et à toucher." And again: "La vive peinture des choses est comme l'âme de l'éloquence."

school—he was aware that this included Bossuet—that the century produced;²¹ and Malebranche proposed to correct the too-imaginative prose of the age of Montaigne and Bacon by applying to it its own rationalistic criticism with a rigor that Montaigne and Bacon never dreamed of.²²

In short, though this was the period when the Isocratean model was revived by Bossuet, the critics were all on the side of the severer style, and most of them were either hostile or indifferent to oratory in all its forms. The doctrine of the *genus humile* was taught everywhere.

Up to this point we have not mentioned the word *Attic*, which is the object of the discussion. We have considered only the two great modes of style, the grand and the familiar, and the relation of the ancient rivalry between them to the theory of modern Anti-Ciceronianism. This, however, is the proper approach to our subject. For in the controversies of the Anti-Ciceronians "Attic style" means to all intents and purposes the *genus humile* or *subtile*, "Asiatic" describes the florid, oratorical style of Cicero's early orations or any style ancient or modern distinguished by the same copious periodic form and the Gorgianic figures that attend upon it. 'Attic' is always associated with philosophy and the *ars bene vivendi*, 'Asiatic' with the *cultus* of conventional oratory. This is not the usual modern method of relating the two terms. Probably the fault now most commonly associated with Asianism is one to which the Anti-Ciceronians of the seventeenth century were themselves peculiarly liable when they used the characteristic forms of their art for oratorical purposes. We think of the tumor, the exaggerated emphasis, the monstrous abuse of metaphor in the preaching of the first half of the century in all the European countries; or of qualities dangerously related to these in the non-oratorical prose writings of Donne, Gracian, Malvezzi, and other masters of the 'conceit'; or even of tendencies of the same kind that we may observe in writers so normal as Lipsius,

²¹ See a passage near the beginning of the first dialogue, and a more interesting one near the end of the second, in which Fénelon seems to apprehend not only the connection between Bossuet and Isocrates, but the Isocratean character of medieval Latin preaching-style.

²² See the passages of *La Recherche de la Vérité* cited on a later page (p. 127, n. 64).

Bacon, Balzac, and Browne. There is a kind of Asianism, in short, that arises from a constant effort to speak with point and significance, as well as from an excessive use of the ornate figures of sound, from too much love of expressiveness as well as from the cult of form; and inasmuch as this vice was more familiar to the reformers at the end of the century than the other, and was the one that was in immediate need of correction at that time, it has taken its place in our traditions as typical Asianism. But the Anti-Ciceronians were not aware that they were falling into error through an excess of their own qualities; they called themselves "Attic" because they avoided certain traits of style which they disliked, and did not observe that they sometimes ceased to be Attic through avoiding and disliking them too much. It is true therefore that their use of the terms was a one-sided and inadequate interpretation of their meaning in ancient criticism.²⁸ But on the other hand, it is fair to remark that so is the present use, and indeed that the seventeenth century was far more nearly in accord with the ancient ideas of the character of Attic prose than we are. Through the influence of eighteenth-century tastes we have come to associate it with the laws of taste and good form imposed by a slightly frivolous, or at least not very intellectual, social custom; and have lost sight of the fact that it had its original in philosophy rather than in the manners of "the world," and preserved its philosophical associations in antiquity through all its transmutations. This fact the Anti-Ciceronians of the seventeenth century never forgot. It was the basis of their distinction between Attic and Asian prose.

The evidence on this point is clear and decisive, and begins with the earliest phases of the sixteenth-century Ciceronian controversy. Erasmus, however, is the only witness that we shall need to cite from the first period. Throughout the *Ciceronianus* 'Attic' denotes opposition to the copiousness of Cicero, and fondness for a scientific

²⁸ In antiquity, however, there was much the same variation of usage as that described in the text. The opponents of Cicero always tended to identify Asianism with the oratorical *cultus*, just as the modern Anti-Ciceronians did; but of course the prevalent doctrine was that there are two ways of becoming Asian: *aut nimio cultu aut nimio tumore*; either by studying too zealously the *orationis cultus* (as Bembo, Lyly, and many sixteenth-century writers did) or by exaggerating the *sententiarum venustas* (as Montaigne, Lipsius, Browne did in the seventeenth century). See Hendrickson, xxvi, p. 287, where the appropriate passages from Diomedes, Cicero, and St. Augustine are cited.

or philosophical brevity, marked by the same tendency toward ingenuity and point which accompanied the *genus humile* in ancient times. Speaking of the humanist Lazare de Baïf, one of the interlocutors says: "He prefers to be pointed [*argutus*], it seems, Attic rather than Ciceronian."²⁴ William Grocyn "was always inclined to the epistolary pointedness, loving laconism and appropriateness of style;²⁵ in this *genre* certainly one would call him nothing but Attic; indeed he aimed at nothing else, and when he read any writings of Cicero would say that he could not endure his fulness of expression."²⁶ Linacre, again, "surpasses an Attic in the repression of his feelings . . . ; he has studied to be unlike Cicero."²⁷ Scaliger, answering Erasmus, bullies and berates him for calling Cicero "redundant and Asiatic."²⁸ Improperly of course; for Erasmus is using these opprobrious words only in echoing Cicero's own criticism of his earlier orations, and is careful to point out the variety of styles in his works. Still Cicero is prevaillingly a copious and ornate orator. Controversy is never nice and discriminating; and Cicero continues 'Asian' to the end of Anti-Ciceronian history. Lipsius, for example, writes in 1586; "I love Cicero; I even used to imitate him; but I have become a man, and my tastes have changed. Asiatic feasts have ceased to please me; I prefer the Attic."²⁹

'Attic,' however, by this time was beginning to be more fully defined, and all its ancient associations re-awakened in defense of it. Erik van der Putten (or Puteanus), evidently a follower of Lipsius, publishes a rhetoric of 'Laconism,' in which he marshals an array of "brief" ancient writers, Thucydides, Cato, Tacitus, especially, who are properly called Attics, he says, because they are so reticent, so incisive, so significant. But this term is inadequate to express their true glory; they may better, he thinks, be

²⁴ *Opera Omnia*, Leyden 1703-1710, vol. I, col. 1012A.

²⁵ *Proprietatem sermonis*: on the technical meaning of this term in the theory of the *genus humile* see below, pp. 114-117.

²⁶ Col. 1012 E.

²⁷ *Ib.*, *ib.* In Column 989 F, paraphrasing Horace's description of the brief style that tends to obscurity, he calls it Atticism, though Horace has nothing to suggest this.

²⁸ *Pro M. T. Cicerone*, Paris 1531, section 68 and elsewhere.

²⁹ *Epp. L'fisc.*, II, 10.

called the Spartans.³⁰ Later Balzac in the Preface to his *Socrate Chretien* (1652), makes the same distinction. "Que si nostre zele ne peut s'arrester dans nostre coeur: Qu'il en sorte a la bonne heure! Mais qu'il se retranche dans le stile de Lacedemone: Pour le moins dans l'Atticisme: Au pis aller, quil ne deborde pas par ces Harangues Asiatiques, ou il faut prendre trois fois haleine pour arriver a la fin d'une periode." Further on he is more exact, and speaks of the "Attiques de Rome, qui contrefaisoient Brutus, et n'imitèrent pas Ciceron," meaning Seneca and his school.

Great progress in critical discrimination and historical knowledge has evidently been made since the sixteenth century. This progress continues in a later generation; and the clearest witness of all is Père Bonhours. He has the prose of the century in perspective: its faults and dangers are vividly before his mind, and he sees that they are immediately connected with the imitation of the ancient models of the acute and subtle *genus humile*, Tacitus, Lucan, Seneca: yet, he says, I am still an Attic in my tastes; and what he means by that is exactly shown in a passage from an earlier work,³¹ every sentence of which is important for our purpose. He is speaking of the French language, and says that what he admires most in it is "that it is clear without being too diffuse (*étendue*). (There is perhaps nothing that is less to my taste than the Asiatic style.) It takes pleasure in conveying a great deal of meaning in a few words. Brevity is pleasing to it, and it is for this reason that it cannot endure periods that are too long, epithets that are not necessary, pure synonyms that add nothing to the meaning, and serve only to fill out the cadence (*nombre*). . . . The first care of our language is to content the mind (*esprit*) and not to tickle the ear. It has more regard to good sense than to beautiful cadence. I tell you once again, nothing is more natural to it than a reason-

³⁰ *De Laconismo*, Louvain 1609. Van der Putten was Lipsius' successor in the chair of rhetoric at Louvain, and was one of those disciples of his who caused his contemporaries to speak of him in the terms that Quintilian used of Seneca, as "the man upon whose faults a sect was founded." Ideas adapt themselves to the size of the minds they find a lodging in, and it is not Lipsius' fault altogether that *concettismo* of one kind or another makes its appearance so soon in the style of his followers. Van der Putten thinks (p. 78-9) that there is too much *copia* in Demosthenes and the other Attic orators!

³¹ *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, 1671.

able brevity." The form of the opposition between 'Attic' and 'Asian' in the seventeenth-century mind is more exactly expressed in the various phrases and turns of this passage than in any other that we shall be likely to find.

IV

The aim of the literary historian is the utmost simplification that is consistent with the actual variety of the facts he deals with; and in the preceding pages we have been trying to make our generalization broad enough to include all the significant facts of seventeenth-century prose-style. But on the other hand, the uniformity of any large set of phenomena is only interesting in relation with their diversity. The *genus humile* had a history in antiquity running through seven or eight centuries, and during that period developed various phases of theory and various forms of style, most of which were known to the leaders of Anti-Ciceronianism and played their different parts in the drama of rhetorical controversy in the seventeenth century. To distinguish these phases, and the character and extent of the influence that each of them had in the period we are studying, is no less important than to observe the general tendency that is common to them all; and this will be the purpose of all the rest of our discussion.

The earlier Greek phases of this history—the only ones that we have considered up to this point—were of minor importance in determining the actual forms that prose-style took in the seventeenth century; and if we only wanted to know what models it could imitate we might confine our attention to the Stoic school of rhetoric that triumphed over Ciceronian oratory in the first century of the Roman Empire. But, on the other hand, the critics whose business it was to defend and explain it were well acquainted with its purer sources in the classical period of Greek culture; and they very often, one might say usually, defended or concealed their real use of the inferior "Atticism" of Seneca and Tacitus by claiming the sanction of greater names than these. Unless we can interpret the disingenuousness of men laboring under the imputation of literary heresy we shall constantly be puzzled in reading their manifestoes. Three names associated with three phases of the history of *genus humile* in the classical Greek period occur with some frequency in their writings, those of Plato

(or Socrates), Aristotle, and Demosthenes; and in the present section we will take up briefly each of these phases, with reference to its place in seventeenth-century prose-criticism—reserving for the proper point the explanation of the paradox of describing the style of Demosthenes as a phase of the *genus humile*.

1. Of the first not much needs to be said. The nature of the controversy recorded in the *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus* was of course known to the Anti-Ciceronian leaders; and they knew perfectly well, moreover, that the Isocratean, or Gorgian rhetoric was of essentially the same kind as the Ciceronian rhetoric taught by the orthodox humanists of the sixteenth century. It would have been strange if they had not used the name of Plato in propagating their new taste for a philosophical and intimate prose, or had not detected the similarity of the aims of their opponents to those of the ancient sophistic rhetoricians. It was in fact their occasional practise to apply to these teachers and their seventeenth-century successors the old name of "sophists."²

There was an additional motive, however, for the revival of this ancient controversy, which will strike the modern reader as a curiosity of literary history. The new "Attics" were nine-tenths Stoic in their morals, as they were in their rhetoric. But Stoicism was stigmatized as heresy—especially when it called itself "Christian"—at every distributing center of Catholic orthodoxy; at Rome itself it was under constant surveillance. In these circumstances the name of Socrates was a convenient disguise, partly because it was not hard to wrench his philosophy into a Stoic form, and partly because his conduct on his trial and the manner of his death had long given him a place among those who had fallen as martyrs of the struggle against conventional sentimentality. Quevedo occasioned no surprise when he linked the names of Socrates, Cato, and Job in his Stoic hagiology;³ and Balzac's title *Le Socrate Chrétien* could easily be read in its real sense of *le stoïque chrétien*.

For these reasons, then, we occasionally meet with the names of Plato and Socrates in the propaganda of the new school. But as far as the form of its style was concerned the earliest masters of Attic had but little influence upon it. In the first half of the

² See Balzac, *De la Grande Éloquence*, Works 1665, vol. 2, pp. 518 ff., and the works of Naudé, *passim*.

³ See E. Mérimée, *La Vie et les Oeuvres de . . . Quevedo*, Paris 1886, p. 288.

century it is almost safe to say that they had none. In the second, on the other hand, there were several ambitious revivals of Hellenism, both in England and France, and the name of Plato is often heard as that of a writer and a model to be imitated. Thus the Chevalier de Méré proposes a purely Greek literary program: Plato in prose and Homer in verse are the preferred models, and next to these (since one must do lip-service, at least, to oratory) Demosthenes.²⁴ But there is some disingenuousness in this and similar professions. The actual style of de Méré does not differ in kind from that of St. Evrémonde, for example, which was formed in the "libertine" school of the first half of the century and "corrected" by the new *mondanité* of the second. Like other representative critics of his century, de Méré calls himself an Attic; but he had already discovered the eighteenth-century formula in which Atticism is identified with the "agreeable" style of *l'honnête homme*; and this is a style very different from Plato's.

With less emphasis the same statement can be made of the style of Fénelon in his *Dialogues*. Though it superficially resembles the model it imitates, its Platonism is but a thin disguise of the romantic and Christian poetry that we are familiar with in his other prose writings. Indeed there is but one prose-style of the seventeenth century that will stand a comparison, either in kind or quality, with that of Plato: the prose-style of the *Lettres Provinciales*; and Pascal is neither deceived nor disingenuous about the sources of this. He acknowledges that it has been formed by the imitation of the same Stoic models that were in favor in the first half of the century.²⁵

The most important part played by Plato was to perpetuate the idea of an "Attic" style, with new and somewhat different associations, in the second half of the century, at a time when the Latin models of such a style, heretofore in favor, had begun to be discredited.

²⁴ Méré's "Atticisme mondain" is very exactly described and placed in its true relations by Strowski, *Pascal et son Temps*, vol. II, chapter 8, and vol. III, chapter 7.

²⁵ "La manière d'écrire d'Épictète, de Montaigne, et de Salomon de Tultie (that is, of Pascal himself in the *Lettres Provinciales*) est le plus d'usage, etc." *Pensées*, I, 18, ed. Brunschvig, p. 327. See also his *Entretien sur Épictète et Montaigne*.

2. The part played by Aristotle was much greater. Of course neither his *Rhetoric* nor any other of his surviving works could serve as a model for stylistic imitation, as the works of Plato could. Yet it is probably correct to say that certain forms of seventeenth-century prose-style are chiefly due to the attempt to apply directly, in practise, ideas concerning the relation between logic and rhetoric gathered from the first two books of the *Rhetoric*. This is probably true of styles so different in their associations as that recommended by the Royal Society of London and often used by its scientific contributors and that imposed upon the writers of the Port Royal Community by their teachers. Both of these are characterized by a deliberate plainness which Aristotle would have been far from recommending for literary use; but they both seem to rest finally on Aristotle's resolution of the forms of rhetorical persuasion into forms of syllogistic reasoning.

The importance of his influence upon the forms of style was as nothing, however, when compared with that of his influence on the *theory* of the Attic school. The advocates of a style suited to philosophical thought needed a classical authority for their support as unquestionable and orthodox as that of Cicero, and Aristotle's *Rhetoric* provided them with what they needed. The rhetorical aphorisms and discussions in Seneca's letters expressed their ideas, it is true, in popular and telling ways. They served the purposes of Attics who did not need to profess any great amount of classical learning or any profound knowledge of rhetorical theory. But Muret, Bacon, Hobbes, and the teachers of Port Royal—the men whose task was to lay the philosophical foundations of seventeenth-century style—were all Aristotelian at first hand, while many others, Lipsius, Descartes, and so on, obtained their ideas from the same source, though perhaps less directly. To show adequately the relation of each of these philosophers to the *Rhetoric* would be a task far beyond our present limits; but at least it may be taken for granted that seventeenth-century Anti-Ciceronianism, like all other historical movements of protest against the excessive study of rhetorical form, derives its *ultimate* authority from the first two books of that work.⁸⁶ Even its third book proved useful. For its

⁸⁶ Muret's dependence upon Aristotle has been mentioned on an earlier page. One of the characteristic expressions of his irony was his choice of the *Rhetoric* instead of a Ciceronian subject for his course in 1576-7,

description of the usual Isocratean oratorical forms was taken for what it was, a mere conventional recognition of existing customs; whereas its highly original treatment of Enthymemes was often employed for guidance in the art of forming aphorisms and *antitheta* in which the seventeenth century arrived at absolute perfection, and its treatment of the metaphor was often appealed to by the new Attics in defence of their favorite figure.³⁷ It is somewhat astonishing to find Aristotle quoted in justification of the devices of style by which *concettismo* achieves its dubious effect of power; but *concettismo* is, in fact, implicit in any "rhetoric of thought," such as Aristotle's was.

3. The third phase of Greek influence, namely that of Attic oratory, requires a larger discussion; for it involves the re-opening of the subject of the *genera dicendi*. Hitherto we have considered only two *genera*, or 'characters,' and this, as we have said, appears to have been the original form of the classification. The *genus humile* arose in opposition to oratory, as the appropriate language of intimate philosophical discussion; and the Gorgianic kind of rhetoric which was then regarded as the only, or at least the typical, form of oratorical style, then properly assumed the name of the *genus grande* in contrast with it. But a kind of oratory

when he had been badgered into a temporary renunciation of the new anti-rhetorical studies of the rationalists. See Dejob, *M.-A. Muret*, Paris 1881, pp. 293-6. Dejob fails to interpret Muret's career in an intelligible fashion because he does not understand the "Attic" movement and its intellectual implications.—Aristotelianism manifests itself clearly in the subordinate relation of rhetoric to dialectics and ethics in Bacon's *Advancement* and in the Port Royal treatises. On this point see Jacquinet, *Baconi de re litteraria judicia*, Paris 1863, pp. 48-51.

³⁷ The raptures of the *concettisti* in praise of metaphor may be studied in Gracian, *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio*, Madrid, 1642, 1648, etc., *passim*; in Pallavicino, *Trattato sullo Stile e sul Dialogo*, 1646, etc., chapter 7 ("si chiama reina delle figure"); and in Tesauro, *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico*, 1654, p. 316 ("il più pellegrino e mirabile . . . parte dell' umano intelletto"). But Bouhours, the determined corrector of *concettismo*, is not less an admirer. See *La Manière de bien Penser*, 1687, pp. 20-21. The whole theory of *concettismo* is derived from Aristotle, especially Book II, chapters 22-24 (on Enthymemes) and Book III, chapter 2, sections 8-15 (on Metaphors). This point has been admirably brought out in the old work by Ferri, *De l'Éloquence*, Paris, 1789, pp. 228-233, the only discussion I know of in which the preëminence of prose over poetry in any proper consideration of the seventeenth-century conceit is observed.

arose at Athens during the fourth century which was not open to the charges brought against the Gorgian rhetoric by Socrates and Plato, which, on the contrary, had some of the same qualities that the masters of the *genus humile* arrogated to themselves, an oratory disdainful of the symmetries and melodious cadences of the Isocratean model and professing to make its effect by the direct portrayal of the mind of the speaker and of the circumstances by which he has been aroused to vehement feeling. This later type of oratory was of course familiar to the post-Aristotelian theorists who adopted the bipartite division; but so strong was the tradition of the earlier type of oratory that they took no account of it in their theory. They merely wished to represent the dichotomy of style in its original and most striking form. When, however, the oratory of Lysias and Demosthenes and their school had at last taken so firm a place in the tradition that they could no longer be disregarded in the doctrine of the *genera*, a curious situation presented itself. For now a mode of style had to be recognized which was allied in its rhetorical form and procedure with the *genus humile*, yet was unmistakably grander than the *genus grande* and had the same uses. Nothing but disorder could result from such an anomaly; and in fact the adjustment that was finally made was little better than a confused and illogical working arrangement. The "Attic" oratory of Demosthenes usurped the title of the *genus grande*; the *genus humile* remained undisturbed in its old functions and character; and a third *genus* was added to take care of the Isocratean oratory, and was given the name of the *genus medium* (*modicum, temperatum, etc.*), though this name does not appropriately represent either the historical or the formal relation of the Isocratean style to the other two. [In the time of Cicero it had become customary to define the character of the three *genera* more fully by a reference to the effect of each upon the audience. The *genus humile* is best adopted to teaching or telling its hearers something; the *genus medium* delights them or gives them pleasure; the *genus grande* rouses them and excites them to action.²⁵

It is true that this explanation of the development of the tripartite classification is not so clearly documented as we should like to have it. It is only probable. But it is the result of what seems

²⁵ This interpretation of the relation of the three characters follows that of Hendrickson in the articles mentioned in a former note (see p. 87).

the best investigation of the subject, and it at least *explains*. We may now add that the treatment of the three styles in the seventeenth century tends to confirm it, because it shows a similar solution of the problem by men placed in a situation strikingly like that of the ancient theorists.

The aim of the founders of seventeenth-century prose style was to domesticate a *genus humile*. The movement inaugurated by the Anti-Ciceronian leaders, Bacon, Montaigne, Lipsius, was like that of Plato and Socrates and their followers in that it was meant to make and legalize a breach between oratory and philosophy, and to establish in general use a style meant to express reality more acutely and intimately than oratory can hope to do. And the form of oratory which was present to their eyes in the usage of their own age was, as we have seen, the same Isocratean form that the founders of the ancient *genus humile* had before them. But the seventeenth century could not sacrifice its love of grandeur and nobility to its love of philosophic truth any more than the Athens of the fourth century could. It was, indeed, an age that for peculiar reasons, affected solemnity, a kind of somber magnificence, in all the forms of its artistic expression. It was the immediate heir of the Renaissance, for one thing, and came naturally by a taste for pomp and grandiosity; but, furthermore, the peculiar political and religious temper of the time, especially as it came under Catholic and Anglo-Catholic influence, tended to strengthen these inclinations and to give them a special character. "Persuade the King in greatness," said Bacon in the confidence of his private journal; and the words might be taken as an index of the temper in which some of the most representative art of his age was produced. It was the age of the Baroque in sculpture and architecture; of the intense and profound Catholicism of El Greco; of the conscious Romanization of moral ideals; of the dogma and ceremony of absolutism; and of the elaboration, in sermon and essay, of a sombre liturgy of Death.⁷

Such an age could not be satisfied with the intimate and dialectic uses of prose alone. It needed them and made the most of them; but its rhetorical preceptors must also hold up before it the image of a great and noble oratory, greater and nobler even than the Ciceronian, but as free from Cicero's 'Asianism,' as 'Attic,' as their own philosophical essay-style. They need not actually achieve this style, it is true, in their own practise; but even though it

should prove to be far beyond its powers, the seventeenth century demanded the contemplation of such a model as the ideal form to "persuade it in greatness."³⁹ The name of Demosthenes therefore appears in the writings of the Anti-Ciceronian rhetoricians from the beginning of the century to the end as the symbol of the *genus grande* in the Attic manner. Bacon, in a letter written in the name of Essex, says that if one must study oratory, Demosthenes (not Cicero) is the model to be imitated.⁴⁰ Fénelon, opposing the Isocrateanism of preaching style—which had been revived in the eloquence of Bossuet and his followers—eloquently proclaims the superiority of the greater Attic orator.⁴¹ And between these two great critics there are many that utter the same sentiment. But it was Balzac who made the name of Demosthenes his trademark or heraldic device. The sum and substance of his writings on the subject of style is that he aims to produce a union of Attic quality with the grand manner of a "heroic" oratory, to combine the virtue of Brutus's style, as he says in one place, with that of Cicero's, the naturalism, that is, of the one with the eloquence of the other.⁴² For the purposes of this program the authors who served as the models of his own style—Seneca, Tacitus, and Tertullian—were ill-adapted, and he publicly repudiated them—with a disingenuousness which was justified perhaps by a lofty purpose—as inferior and debased Attics, professing to find the only model of the true heroic style in Demosthenes, or perhaps in the late 'Attic' orations of Cicero against Antony.⁴³

Balzac took all this program with a grand seriousness worthy of it. It expressed a genuine will toward *la grande éloquence*. But judged by his practise, or that of any one else of his time, it

³⁹ Compare with this phrase of Bacon's one of Balzac's, wholly characteristic of him. In his later works, he says, he has written most on political themes, and his aim in these productions has been to express himself "de ce qu'il y a de plus magnifique et de plus pompeux en la vie active."

⁴⁰ Spedding's *Life and Letters*, II, 21-26.

⁴¹ *Dialogues sur l'Éloquence* I, near the beginning, II, near the end. Lipsius, in his *Judicium supra Senecam*, prefixed to his edition of Seneca (1605), anticipates Balzac's theory. See also the same use of Demosthenes' name and credit in Caussin's *Eloquentia Sacra et Humana* (1619), II, chapter on the *Anti-Cicerones*.

⁴² *Avant-propos* to his *Socrate Chrétien*, and *Paraphrase, ou de la Grande Éloquence*; also the attack of an enemy in the *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste*, and Ogier's answer in his *Apologie pour M. Balzac*.

has as much significance as a flare of trumpets or a pyrotechnic display. The kind of Attic practised in the seventeenth century could not combine with the magnificence of oratory to advantage, and the bizarre effects so common in the sermons and panegyrics of the first half of the century are the monstrous births that proceeded from the unnatural union between them. The taste of the age was not equal to the Athenian feat of being simple and grand at once; and when Bossuet turned from his early studies in Attic ingenuity and point to the reform of oratorical style, it was not the example of Demosthenes or Lysias that served his turn, but the old conventional oratorical model of Isocrates, and the medieval preachers.

The professed study of Demosthenes' oratory, in short, had but little practical effect upon seventeenth-century prose; and the same thing is true of all other Hellenistic programs of style in France and England during the period of Balzac and the generation that immediately followed him. Some of them were important as indicating new turns of thought and a widening of literary horizons; but none of them and not all of them taken together, had a decisive influence on the form of vernacular style, or provided models that could be effectively imitated. Concerning the first half of the seventeenth century and the generation that preceded it a much stronger statement than this must be made. The truth about this period can only be expressed by saying that it was anti-Greek. The study of Hellenistic culture had become associated with the ornamental learning, the flowery science, of the humanists. "The wisdom of the Greeks," said Bacon, "was rhetorical; it expended itself upon words, and had little to do with the search after truth." This statement has a strange sound in modern ears; and in fact Bacon would have expressed the opinion of his age better if he had made it more carefully. We could not object if he had said that the Greeks were *speculative* and rhetorical; and the age of Bacon, Montaigne, and Descartes was equally averse to disinterested speculation and disinterested rhetorical beauty. The new rationalists were incapable, in short, of understanding the value of Greek culture; and even though they had been able to form a juster estimate of it, they would still have rejected it merely on the practical ground that it was too remote, too ancient, conveyed in a language too foreign to their own. It is thus that we are to explain the bravado of Burton and Descartes, and several other

great scholars of the time, who professed that they knew no Greek or had forgotten what little they had been taught.⁴³

The culture of the period from 1575 to 1650 is almost wholly Latinistic; and we must seek for the models on which it chiefly formed its style in the forms of Latin prose which it considered Attic.

V

The history of Latin prose-style during the classical period displays the same constant tendency to a rivalry and opposition between two great characters of style that prevailed in Greece; and indeed from the time that the facts begin to be clear enough for exact historical statement this rivalry is conducted under the direct influence of Greek theory and largely in imitation of it. But there was a difference, due to a difference in the characters of the two races, which manifests itself especially in the associations that attached themselves to the *genus humile*. [In Greece, as we have seen, this 'character' of style originated in philosophy and arose, later than the other, out of a protest against the emptiness and unreality of oratory. In Rome, on the other hand, it had its roots in the very beginnings of Roman life, and was originally the expression of the practical and unphilosophical nature of the Roman people. In its first phases it was certainly not a literary style at all, or at least owed nothing to formal rhetorical method; and the beauties that were later seen or imagined in it were merely the natural expressions of the soldierly and rustic character of the early Roman gentlemen, the accidental effects of art that sometimes arise spontaneously from a Spartan or Puritan contempt of art.

So at least we may suppose. Almost nothing remains to show what it actually was, and we cannot say with assurance how much of the character attributed to it was due to the philosophic theories of the days when Roman thought had already been profoundly affected by the Stoicism of later Greek culture. Probably there is general truth in the idea then prevalent that there had been a

⁴³ Montaigne's reason for not reading Greek is characteristic of the period; "I am not satisfied with a half-understanding" (II, 10; see also I, 26). On the Latinization of culture in this age see an excellent passage by Nisard, *La Litt. Fr.*, I, 429-30; also Brunetière, *l'Évolution des Genres*, p. 53; Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, p. 186.

severe early Roman prose expressive of the national character; and whether there was or was not the belief in it had its effects upon the later prose, and the *genus humile* at Rome took from it associations of virility and sturdy practical purpose, associations with primitive and archaic forms of virtue, which always made it something different from its Greek counterpart even after Roman culture had been generally Hellenized. To these associations the *genus humile* owed part of its great success during the Empire, largely because they transported the men of that age to a different world from their own; and it had the same value once again in the seventeenth century to those who were reviving at that time "Roman" and Stoic conceptions of literary style. But even in a somewhat simpler and more classical period than either of these, in the pre-Augustan age of Cicero and Brutus, the *genus humile* was already supposed to have a peculiarly Roman and primitive character. In the style of the *Commentaries* of Cæsar, as manly and efficient, men have always said, as his legionaries themselves, it was believed that the national genius still survived, though Cæsar had in fact studied rhetoric assiduously in the schools; and in Brutus' treatise *De Virtute*—whose non-survival was the occasion of many Stoic tears in the seventeenth century—we might be able to behold an image of the early Roman through all the sophistication of a philosophical and rhetorical theory.⁴⁴

We cannot in fact tell when or how the native tendencies of Latin style blended with foreign influences, or what forms of national prose they might have produced if they had been left to exfoliate in their own manner. What we do know is that Roman rhetoric became outwardly well Hellenized during the last century of the Republic, that the theory of the rhetorical *genera* was established in the same form that it had then come to have in Greek practise, and that henceforward the history of the *genus humile* in Latin prose—like that of its rival, the grand oratorical style of Cicero—has to be written chiefly in terms of Greek rhetorical theory. The Greek *genus humile* was not now, however, what it had been in the time of Aristotle; during the two centuries that had intervened it had undergone important changes in its technique and had acquired

⁴⁴ Norden identifies Roman "Atticism" with the archaizing movement. With all deference to his authority, the reader is compelled to feel he has made his point only as regards the second century, and has introduced new confusion into the history of the term *Attic*.

new associations, all of which are exactly reproduced in the Latin style that represents it. We must turn back to the point where we left off the account of its development and consider these changes.

We have seen that Aristotle first developed into a system the theory of style as it is determined by the processes of thought and that in the generations immediately after him a place was found in rhetorical teaching for a kind of style, known as the *genus humile*, founded upon this way of looking at rhetorical phenomena. We have now to observe that the great increase in the interest in philosophical studies in Greek communities during the third and second centuries was the cause of an increased attention to this *genus humile* and of interesting developments in its theory and practise, and that the occasions for the proper and healthy use of the more popular oratorical style were at the same time greatly reduced as a result of changed political conditions in the Greek world. Whether this change is to be regarded as a beneficent consequence of the restoration of order by absolute authority, as the Romans of the first century and most seventeenth-century observers considered it to be, or was, on the other hand, a lamentable indication of the decay of character that follows the loss of liberty, as Milton, for instance, undoubtedly thought it was, we will not stop to inquire. It is the fact alone that concerns us, and we will proceed at once to specialize it still further by noting that the important rhetorical fact is not so much the spread of philosophical interest in general, as the remarkable diffusion of the principles of the Stoic sect. This does not mean necessarily that Stoicism was in itself the most important philosophy of the age—though that also may be true—but only that it had clearer and more systematic theories than the other sects with regard to the form of a philosophical style, and was able to speak, at least on most points, as the general rhetorical representative of them all.

Aristotle describes two essential virtues of style: *clearness* and *appropriateness*. But his method of treating the theory of rhetoric in the first two books implies another of almost equal importance, namely, *brevity*; and in his immediate followers this virtue assumes actually a coördinate place with the other two in the description of the *genus humile*. Upon his analysis, modified in this way, the Stoic rhetoric depends; and the three qualities—clearness, brevity, and appropriateness—appear and reappear in it, usually in the order named, and with only such additions and subtractions as

always occur in a traditional formula. Each of them, however, is interpreted in a particular way and takes on a special meaning in the Stoic system.⁴⁵ We will consider the three in order, and what they meant in Stoic practise.

1. Aristotle places clearness first. The Stoics often—though not always—give it the same titular position. But, whether they do so or not, it is never first in their affections. There were two features of Stoic thought that tended to reduce this virtue to a subordinate rank, or even to give a positive value to its opposite. Clearness is evidently the first merit of an exposition of objective reality, as in the statement of facts and laws of natural science; Aristotle occasionally had such exposition in his mind, and, partly on his authority, there have been in modern times several attempts to erect the theory of style on the foundation of mere scientific clearness. But the kind of truth that the Stoics chiefly had in mind was moral and inward. It was a reality not visible to the eye, but veiled from common observation; hidden in a shrine toward which one might win his way, through a jostling, noisy mob of illusory appearances, by a series of partial initiations. This kind of reality can never be quite portrayed of course, because ultimate knowledge of the mystery of truth is never attained. But it is at least possible to depict the effort of the athletic and disciplined mind in its progress toward the unattainable goal. And this effort of the mind was the characteristic theme of the Stoics, and the object of their rhetorical art. Though by the rigor of their theory they were bound to a cold passionless objectivity,

⁴⁵ The clearest statements of the form of Stoic style in antiquity are in Diog. Laer. (*Life of Zeno*), VII, 59; Cicero, *De Oratore* (which Zielinski, with some exaggeration, describes as an exposition of Stoic theory), and Quintilian, XII, 10. In the modern period, Lipsius' treatise on style, *Institution Epistolica*, and La Mothe le Vayer's *l'Éloquence Française* (*Oeuvres* IV) rest directly on ancient Stoic authority. The clearest recent statement is by Hendrickson (as above, *Am. J. of Phil.* XXVI, pp. 257-61, 272, 284).

It should be said that in Diogenes Laertius another virtue, purity of language as determined by the usage of good society, precedes these three. This, however, proved so foreign to other ideals of the Stoic school that it was often omitted, and when it appears and is made prominent, as it is in the Roman Stoics of the second century, it is interpreted in such a way that it falls into virtual coincidence with the quality of appropriateness. Its history in the seventeenth century would make an interesting chapter, but must be omitted here.

they really aimed at a highly imaginative portrayal of their relations with truth; and even those who professed to strive for clearness, and in fact did so, could not resist the temptation to convey the ardor of their souls in brevities, suppressions, and contortions of style which are in fact inconsistent with a primary devotion to the virtue of perspicuity.

In the second place, the Stoic sage was always, by his own account, a foreigner in the world. His outward fortunes were bound up in every conceivable way with powers and conventions which were alien to his soul; and the form in which the problem of life presented itself to him was how to reconcile his inward detachment and independence with his necessary outward conformity to the world, or even with the desire—which he usually professed—to be of service to it. Obscurity, therefore, might be useful to him in two ways. Sometimes it was a necessary safeguard of the dangerous truths he had to utter; sometimes it was a subtle mockery of the puerile orthodoxies of society.

Clearness is a virtue, then, to which the Stoics pay lip-service, which they more honor in the breach than the observance; and its value in the criticism of their prose consists chiefly in the fact that it enables us to distinguish two classes of writers among them. One consists of those who studiously defy it for the reasons just mentioned. Tacitus—*le prince des ténèbres*—Persius, and Tertullian are of this class, and their imitators in the seventeenth century, Donne (in his letters), Gracian, Bacon, Malvezzi, etc., may easily be distinguished by their cult of significant darkness. The other is of those who studiously cultivate clearness, not for its own merits, but as a wise corrective to the other qualities of Stoic prose, brevity and appropriateness, which they love better. Seneca and the seventeenth-century writers who directly imitate him, such as Lipsius and Bishop Hall, and Montaigne and Browne in some of their writings, are representative of this class.

2. Aristotle's second virtue is brevity, and this the Stoics liked so well that they sometimes actually put it first, in the place of clearness.⁴⁶ It is a quality that is almost necessarily involved in the attempt to portray exactly the immediate motions of the mind. In the history of all the epochs and schools of writing it is found

⁴⁶ So, for instance, Lipsius, *Instit. Epist.*, ch. VII: *Prima illa, prima mihi, sermonis virtus est.*

that those which have aimed at the expression of individual experience have tended to break up the long musical periods of public discourse into short, incisive members, connected with each other by only the slightest of ligatures, each one carrying a stronger emphasis, conveying a sharper meaning than it would have if it were more strictly subordinated to the general effect of a whole period. Such a style is a protest against easy knowledge and the complacent acceptance of appearances. It was of course a style loved by the Stoics. But there was a feature of their discipline which gave a particular value to the virtue of brevity; for they made greater use than any of the other sects of the art of condensing their experience into "golden sayings," *dicta*, maxims, aphorisms, *sententiae*. Chrysippus, working perhaps on hints received from Pythagoras, gave directions for the manufacture of *sententiae*, and the use of them in moral discipline, directions which are familiar to modern readers through Bacon's reproduction and expansion of them in his *De Augmentis*, unhappily without due credit given to his predecessor.⁴⁷ [It is not enough to say of Stoic style that it tends toward brevity. In its most characteristic forms it tends toward the *sententia*, which is as properly to be called its ideal form as the rhythmic cumulative period is that of the Ciceronian style.]

3. The quality of appropriateness is not so easy to deal with, for it has been the subject of puzzled discussion, and has assumed a Protean variety of forms. Yet it is of the utmost importance in the interpretation of Stoic style. Aristotle does not clearly enough define what he means by it, but it is evident that he thinks chiefly of appropriateness to the character of the audience addressed and the nature of the occasion: a style should adapt itself to the social requirements of discourse, and not be, for instance, either too lofty or too mean for the kind of audience contemplated. Through the recognition of this virtue of style, it seems, he is able to introduce into his *Rhetoric* the description of the Isocratean model of oratory which occupies his Third Book.⁴⁸ But in this

⁴⁷ Book VI, ch. 3. La Mothe le Vayer is more candid: see his *l'Éloquence Fr.*, pp. 16, 57, etc. The source is Chrysippus as reported by Plutarch in his *Controversies of the Stoics*; but Aristotle's analysis of the enthymeme also contributed to the discussions of Bacon and La Mothe le Vayer.

⁴⁸ See Hendrickson, as above, xxv, 135-6; xxvi, 254.

use of the word there was an obvious danger to the Stoics; for it might be used as an open door for the entrance of those modes of popular and sensuous appeal which they deprecated in public oratory and carefully excluded from their own private discourses. They gave to the quality of appropriateness, therefore, a meaning more suitable to the theory of a style which was to concern itself intimately with experience.

{ The statement of it by Lipsius will serve to present their view briefly.⁴⁹ Appropriateness, he says, has two aspects, appropriateness to thing and to person. The former we will consider first for a moment. It is evident that taken in its strict sense appropriateness to the thing has nothing to do with rhetoric. If (as Lipsius defines it) "everything is said for the sake of argument (or subject)," and "the vesture of sentence and phrase exactly fits the body of the thing described," thought and discourse are exactly identical, and there is only one science of both, which we may call logic or dialectic, or what-not. The proper outcome of the doctrine of "appropriateness to the thing" is such a mathematical style as was contemplated by Bayle, and some seventeenth-century Cartesians, a style admirable of course for scientific exposition, but limited to uses in which art has no opportunity. In short this phase of the Stoic doctrine of style exactly illustrates the instability of an anti-oratorical theory of style, which we have already noted in other connections. But, as we have also observed, practise never squares exactly with a theory; and insistence upon the more literal truth of language has often served as a wholesome corrective or a partisan challenge in periods sated with the conventional ornaments of style.

Secondly, there is appropriateness to person; and this, says Lipsius, has two phases: appropriateness to the person or persons addressed, and appropriateness to the speaker or writer himself. In the former phase it may be taken as justifying the study of the abstract rhetorical beauties of oratory. So Aristotle seems to take it. But the Stoics lay all the emphasis on the other phase, namely, the exact interpretation in one's expression of the mode of one's thought; or rather they identify the two phases, the proper and effective mode of impressing one's hearers being, in fact, to render one's own experience in the encounter with reality as exactly, as

⁴⁹ *Instit. Epist.*, ch. 10.

vividly, as possible. And here we must return to what was said a moment ago concerning the character of Stoic morality, in order to show how this interpretation of appropriateness brings into play the rhetorical artifices which are characteristic of the Stoic style and were often so overdone in the periods that we are chiefly concerned with. If truth and reality were easily come at and declared themselves in the same unmistakable uniform terms to all inquiring minds, their expression in language would be a comparatively simple task. The style appropriate to the thing would be almost the same as that appropriate to the mind of the speaker. But it is not so, of course. The secrets of nature are made known only to attentive and collected minds, prepared by a long preliminary training in habits of exclusion and rejection; and even to them but partially, and in moments of rare and peculiar illumination. A style appropriate to the mind of the speaker, therefore, is one that portrays the process of acquiring the truth rather than the secure possession of it, and expresses ideas not only with clearness and brevity, but also with the ardor in which they were first conceived. It is no more a bare, unadorned, unimaginative style than the oratorical style is; it aims, just as oratory does, to move and please, as well as to teach, but is distinguished from oratory by the fact that it owes its persuasive power to a vivid and acute portrayal of individual experience rather than to the histrionic and sensuous expression of general ideas.

The figures it uses, therefore, are not the "schemes," or figures of sound, which characterize oratory, but the figures of wit, the rhetorical means, that is, of conveying thought persuasively. Antithesis is one of the chief of these, not however as a figure of sound, which it may be, but as a means of expressing striking and unforeseen relations between the objects of thought. Closely connected with this is the study of "points," or *argutiae*; for the effect of points or turns of wit is found to be due nearly always to an open or veiled antithesis. These two, antithesis and point, are the chief means employed in the art of aphoristic condensation, which, as we have seen, is the normal form of Stoic rhetoric. Of equal importance with these, and of greater literary value, is the metaphor. If Aristotle first expounded the uses of this figure, the Stoics of the late Greek period, and especially those of the Roman Empire, may have the credit of having first shown fully in practise its marvelous expressive powers. It is the greatest

of the figures by which literature may interpret the exact realities of experience; and is as much the characteristic possession of the essay style as the musical phrase is of the oratorical.⁵⁰

It has been necessary to enter into these details concerning the Stoic rhetorical technique because all subsequent practise of the *genus humile* was affected by it; in the Stoics of the late Greek period, of the first and second centuries of the Roman Empire, and of the seventeenth century we encounter the same traits of style.

We return now to the history of the *genus humile* at Rome.

How much progress the opponents of the Ciceronian type of oratory had made during the last century of the Republic in domesticating the devices of Stoic rhetoric which have just been described we cannot say with definiteness, because the remains of the literary activity of the circles of the Scipios and Laelius, and of Brutus and Pollio, are singularly few and fragmentary. It may be that the example of Cato and the image of the primitive Roman gentleman preserved a simpler and plainer character in their prose, and made them chary of adopting too freely methods of expression which had the double taint of foreign culture and philosophic sophistication. We cannot say with certainty. But we know that in its theory and general outlines the Stoic rhetoric was approved and imitated by them. Cicero's testimony makes this sure. For he calls the kind of rhetoric which was usually (but without his approval) set in contrast with his own almost indifferently by the names *genus humile* or *stilus Stoicus*, and the terms in which he describes it in his rhetorical treatises show that it had the same general features that the *genus humile* had assumed in Greece during the third and second centuries: its brevity, its significant abruptness, its tendency to sententiousness, and its preference of the "figures of thought" to the "figures of sound."

This form of style had, as we have seen, all the advantage of being associated in men's mind with the native Roman tradition. It was the "ancient" style in contrast with the Ciceronian model, which bore the imputation of Asianism and novelty. Why, we may well inquire, was it so slow in winning its way to a position of preëminence in Roman letters? When we read in Cicero's writings the names of the authors who represented it in his own

⁵⁰ See note 37, p. 104.

time and the century before him we cannot fail to see that they are both more numerous and vastly more respectable and Roman than those of their literary opponents. Indeed if the name of Cicero himself is eliminated from the history of the grand style, a comparatively small number of important names remains to it. Yet this is unquestionably the style that won the greater successes during the pre-Augustan age and even in the Augustan age itself, whereas the Stoic style did not attain its proper triumph until a later generation and after it had submitted itself to the process of regularization and conventionalization in the schools of declamation.

The explanation may be found in the uncompromising haughtiness of its pretensions during the earlier periods. It was *intransigent* in two senses, both as Stoic and as 'ancient Roman.' Cicero's great success was due to his sympathy with popular tastes; and his own confidence and joy in the rightness of the rhetorical appeal which the people loved saves him from the imputation of insincerity. The Stoics, on the other hand, may have suffered from an excess of scruple. Their unwillingness to confess the aid of rhetoric or to study their characteristic modes of expression in the systematic and deliberate way in which they were later studied in the schools of declamation may have cost them their chance to be heard either in their own time or by later generations.

These are mere speculations concerning an interesting fact. What is clear and certain is that Stoic style entered on a new and brilliant phase of its history with the foundation of the "schools of declamation," which first made their influence felt during the Augustan age, and later came to control the style of almost all Roman literature for more than two centuries.

If there is a common misunderstanding in the mind of the general reader of the character of the training in the schools of declamation, the blame must be imputed to the scholars who have written on the subject. The fault commonly attributed to the teachers in these schools is too great a fondness for rhetorical artifice and the love of it for its own sake; and this is a sound indictment. But without the critical specifications that might be expected to accompany it in the statements of scholars it is more misleading than helpful; for it might more justly be brought against the masters of the style that the new schools repudiated and supplanted than against those that accepted their training and practised according to their precepts. A reader, for instance, who accepted

the careless, denunciatory language of most modern historians on this subject—rather than their actual meaning—would suppose that Seneca wrote with more rhetorical exuberance and display than Cicero, that Tacitus' style reflected a less exact image of the actual world than that of Livy, and that Juvenal and Persius are characterized by an habitual use of the flaccid ornaments of conventional rhetoric!⁵¹ It is necessary, therefore, to point out that the purpose of the schools of declamation was to train their pupils in the practise of the *genus humile*—*de re hominis magis quam de verbis agitantis*. Their pretension was realism; their program the cultivation of all the means of individual expression at the expense of conventional beauty. It is true that they studied for this purpose the figures and devices that had been conventionalized by the rhetoricians of the Stoic schools of Greece; they even practised them with a more conscious art and found in them new resources for purely literary and rhetorical pleasure. But these figures and devices were metaphor, antithesis, paradox and "point"—the appropriate means for the literary expression of ingenious thought and acute realism.

The name by which these schools were known has doubtless done much to create a prejudice against them; but the general custom of denunciation is due in a still greater degree to the fact that the period in which their influence culminated and produced its greatest results is conventionally treated as a period of literary decadence. That there was a general depreciation of moral values in the public and social life of the age of Nero and Domitian no one will deny; and it is probable that the literature of such an age reflects some of its evil conditions even in the character of works which are designed to correct them. But there is often an undue readiness to distribute the honors of degeneracy; and it is fair to recall that in great measure the literature of the silver age was a literature of protest. The first fruits of the schools of declamation came to maturity during the Augustan age, in the writings of Ovid; and in the constant stylistic trickery, combined with the soft delicacy of sentiment and the absence of ideas that characterize these exercises in poetry there are grounds for the expectation of a literary decline. But the characteristic products of the next century

⁵¹ Boissier's essay on the Schools of Declamation is very misleading in this way.

are not at all in that vein. On the contrary they are nearly all the new births of a union between the forms of style taught in the schools of declamation—Stoic, as we have seen, in their origin, but not necessarily so in their application—and a genuine and powerful movement of Stoic philosophy, which derived its impetus from a revolt of the best ideas of the age against the corruption prevalent in society. The style of the schools of declamation gained a new value, a new meaning, from this happy alliance. In the writings of Seneca, Tacitus, Lucan, and Juvenal it served to recall the ideas of an age of Rome that seemed almost as primitive then as the Middle Ages do to us now, and reaped the advantages of that association with early native forms of prose which the Stoic style had always enjoyed. To this association, indeed, it partly owed its tremendous success. But on the other hand it might claim at the same time the honors of a "modern" style in a sense that that term has enjoyed in almost all periods; for its expressive and piquant forms lent themselves admirably to the needs of the new rationalists and their independent criticism of contemporary society.

VI

In previous sections of this paper we have seen that "Attic prose" in the seventeenth century denoted the *genus humile*, or philosophical essay-style, in contrast with the Ciceronian type of oratory; and have discussed the influence of the earlier Greek theorists and exemplars of this *genus* upon it. We have now to observe that the forms of the *genus humile* that were of practical use to it as models for its own imitation were the Roman forms whose history has been outlined in the preceding section.

This statement must be made still more specific, however. The prose that actually determined the forms of its style was that Stoic prose of the first century of the empire—along with some later prose of the same school—which was alembicated in the schools of declamation. The traditions of the Republic on which "Silver-age Latinity" rested, to which it always referred, were valuable, it is true, to the seventeenth century, and it is for that reason that it has been considered so carefully here. The example of Brutus, for instance, was of incalculable advantage to it both in morals and rhetoric when it wished to describe in the clearest and purest terms the ideal to which it aspired, or to express most unequivocally the

motives of its opposition to an oratory of pure display; and we have seen that Balzac spoke of "the style of Brutus" as if it were a familiar form that could be studied at large in existing documents. The example of Cæsar again served their purposes in the same way. That he did not actually belong to a particular school of philosophy or style made no difference. For his conduct, and that of his legionaries, were regarded as the counterparts in practise of the heroic virtue which Epictetus and Seneca portray in its moral and inward effects;⁵² and his style, virile and *soldatesque*, like his life, would have been taken by Montaigne and Bacon as the model of their own, in preference to that of Seneca or Tacitus, if they had not been compelled by the spirit of their age to be rhetoricians *malgré soi*.⁵³

But seventeenth-century writers could not imitate Brutus or Cæsar or Cato in their own style. The explicit and inartificial candor of the Republic was the quality that some of them loved best, but none of them could emulate it in their own manners, because they were living in a different kind of an age and were wholly conscious of the difference. They felt sincerely, almost instinctively indeed, that they were living in a period of decline. There had been a culmination of energy and confidence in the sixteenth century; but the external unities of the Renaissance were dissolving, and the most striking phenomenon of the new age was the division between their outward and inward interests and allegiances which revealed itself to its wisest minds. As in the first century, authorities and orthodoxies were establishing themselves in the corporate political and spiritual life of the age which derived their sanction from its weaknesses rather than from its strength; and these the 'good man,' the 'sage,' felt himself bound

⁵² In a sea-letter to his father the sailor-son of Sir Th. Browne is naively delighted with the spirit of the old Cæsarian legions as portrayed in Lucan's *Pharsalia*. "It would have served [us] well," he says, "and had probably concluded the war in our fight with the Dutch." *Works of Sir Th. B.*, ed. Wilkins, London, 1842, I, p. 142-3.

⁵³ Daniello Bartoli (*I Precepti*, chap. 7), describing the "modern" style (a name often given to the new "Attic"), says: "Its beauty does not rob it of its strength. It can make the same boast that Cæsar's soldiers did, who were able *etiam unguentati bene pugnare*. Bacon's Secretary names Cæsar with Seneca and Tacitus as his favorite authors. Montaigne's almost poetic praises of him are well known.

to support or obey because they were the only safeguards against the evils which the divisions and corrupt tendencies of the time would bring in their train if they were left free to work out their natural results. But his true devotion was given elsewhere; his true ideals were not embodied in the external forms and symbols of the age; his real standards could not be made manifest by signs which would be visible to the crowd.⁵⁴ In such an age the true literary modes are those that serve the purposes of criticism, protest, individual intelligence. The *ideal* form of style to which it refers is of course the "natural" style which expresses naïvely the candor of the soul. But in fact the style it demands for its self-expression is one that has been wrought upon with subtle art to reveal the secret experiences of arduous and solitary minds, to express, even in the intricacies and subtleties of its form, the difficulties of a soul exploring unfamiliar truth by the unaided exercise of its own faculties.

It was not only its social and political state, however, that turned its literary tastes in the direction of the inferior Atticism of the Empire. An explanation that lies nearer the surface of things is found in the state of its artistic culture, the character of its literary tastes as determined by its historical position. It was still in the Renaissance, or at least was its immediate successor, and it had not yet cast away the love of rhetorical ornament for its own sake which had descended to the Renaissance from the middle ages. Its purpose indeed was to escape from this tradition, to represent things as they are, to be as little ornate and rhetorical as possible; but it could not express even this purpose except by means of artifice, mannerism, device. It was still somewhat "Gothic" in spite of itself; and the rhetoric elaborated in the schools of declamation offered it exactly the opportunity it needed to indulge what was most traditional, most unclassical in its tastes under the protection of classical authority.

For these, and doubtless for many other, reasons there was a revival of silver-age literature in the seventeenth century, or in

⁵⁴ This view is more rigorously asserted in Fulke Greville's neglected prose-classic *A Letter to an Honourable Lady* than almost anywhere else. But it is implied in the voluntary retirement of Montaigne and Charron, Lipsius and Balzac, Greville and Browne, to mention only a few of the philosophical solitaires of this age.

the period from 1575 to 1675 which we are treating here as the seventeenth century. Many of the isolated facts which are included in this general statement and justify it have been noted of course by literary history. But the disingenuous or merely traditional orthodoxy which runs through the age has partly veiled the actualities of its taste and practise from the eyes of modern students. And it is partly at least for this reason that the period (1575-1675) between the Renaissance, properly so-called, and the neo-Classical age has never been clearly differentiated in literary history, although in the other arts, in sculpture, painting, and architecture, its character has been recognized and described.

[We shall not understand the seventeenth century, we shall not know the exact meaning of the eighteenth century, until we have come to realize more clearly than we now do that a century intervened between the eighteenth and the sixteenth in which Lucan had a more effective influence on the ideas and the style of poetry than Virgil did; in which Seneca was more loved and much more effectively imitated in prose-style than Cicero had been in the previous generations; in which Tacitus almost completely displaced Livy as the model of historical and political writing; in which Martial was preferred to Catullus, and Juvenal and Persius were more useful to the satirists than Horace; in which Tertullian, the Christian representative of the Stoic style of the Empire—*notre Sénèque*, as he was called—exercised a stronger power of attraction over the most representative minds than St. Augustine, who is the Cicero and the Ciceronian of patristic Latin.

These are the great names. But the movement of imitation and rehabilitation extended the broad mantle of its charity over minor works which have not at any other time been well regarded by the modern world. Velleius Paterculus' odd mixture of anecdote and aphorism⁵⁵ and Pliny's unpleasing *Panegyric to Trajan*⁵⁶

⁵⁵ In Boccacini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, I, 23, Velleius Paterculus carries Lipsius' works to Apollo to receive immortality, and leads the author himself into the presence, between "Seneca the moralist" and "Tacitus the politician." There is an allusion here to Lipsius' *Commentary on Paterculus*. Gracian the *conceittista* finds in Paterculus a store-house of examples of his loved *Agudeza*.

⁵⁶ Dom Jean Goulu, the translator of Epictetus, published a long eulogy and analysis of the *Panegyric to Trajan* (*Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste*, 1628, Seconde Partie). Lipsius made a commentary on the work, and

played their several parts, and not unimportant ones, in seventeenth-century prose history; and it would be possible to add interesting details concerning the taste of this period for other minor authors of the first century. But space must be reserved even in so general a survey for the mention of two Greek writers, by no means minor, who were at Rome during the period of Seneca and Tacitus and display in different ways the spirit of the Roman culture of their time. Plutarch's *Morals* and Epictetus' *Discourses*, known chiefly in translation, exercised an enormous influence upon the moral ideas, and only a little less upon the literary ideas, of the generation from Montaigne to Pascal.

The zeal of this revival was not more remarkable than its success. It is probably true that no other modern period has so thoroughly domesticated in its own literary productions the thought and the style of a period of antiquity; and the title of the Silver Age of modern literature as applied to the period of European literature beginning about 1575 would have considerably more in its favor than nicknames given by this method of nomenclature usually have.

To prove the soundness of assertions sweeping over so wide an area as this would of course be impossible within the limits of a single paper; and even the evidence concerning prose-style, which is all that we are concerned with here, would only be convincing through its cumulative effect in a series of chapters. There is no more than room here to gather together a few of the passages in which the dependence of the age upon first-century models is most broadly depicted.

François Vavas seur, the French Jesuit rhetorician of chief authority in the middle of the century, may almost be said to have devoted his literary career to the exposition of the silver-age proclivities of his time and an attack upon them. His admirable treatise on the Epigram is meant to show, among other things, the superior excellence of Catullus over Martial, and that on the *Novum Dicendi Genus* is an accurate and sweeping description of the preference of the age for the Latin authors of the Decadence.⁵⁷ All this is echoed, but less clearly and with less candor, in the

analyses of it were common in Italy and Spain, as were imitations. For an English imitation see Wotton's *Panegyrick to King Charles*.

⁵⁷ Vavas seur (Vavassor), F., *Oratio Tertia, Contra Novum Dicendi Genus, Opera Omnia*, 1709, pp. 201-209.

later opinions of Balzac, who probably learned more from Vavasasseur than his critics have confessed. But Balzac is torn between his romantic tastes and his classical judgment; and the perspective is better preserved in two critics of the latter half of the century. In describing the taste of Priolo, the historian, for the ancient Anti-Ciceronians of the first century, Bayle allows himself to enlarge his theme into a discussion of the contrast between the three Augustans, Cicero, Livy and Virgil, who have an eloquence of the same general kind, he says, and Seneca, Pliny, Tacitus, and Lucan, whose style he describes in striking terms of denunciation, and adds: "The French begin to be sick of the same distemper." One questions, after reading what he says of M^dlle. de Gournai and Montaigne, and other writers of the earlier part of the century, whether he does not mean the word *begin* ironically.⁵⁸ Father Bouhours, at least, has no doubt of the cause of the distempers which have appeared for a century in French style. In his various critical writings he constantly draws a parallel between a certain class of ancient authors, in which Seneca, Tacitus, Lucan, and Tertullian are the chief names, and the authors of the century past. At different places he includes on the modern side of the parallel Montaigne, Lipsius, Balzac, the *concettisti* of Spain and Italy, especially Gracian and Malvezzi, and a great array of other writers of the seventeenth century. And in his best-known work he represents Philanthe, the voice of the common tastes of his time, as saying that he finds his opinions beginning to change: he does not despair of some day coming to prefer Virgil to Lucan, Cicero to Seneca.⁵⁹

Poets and prose-writers are mingled in these citations indiscriminately; and in this respect they correctly represent the criticism of the time, which usually makes no distinction between them in discussions of style. There is no lack of witnesses, however, who are concerned wholly with questions of prose; rather there is an embarrassment of riches. We need not cite the polemics of Muret and Lipsius, who were engaged in a deliberate attempt to

⁵⁸ The references are all to the *Dictionnaire*. See also the articles on Balzac, Goulu, and Javersac.

⁵⁹ *La Manière de bien Penser dans les Ouvrages d'Esprit*, ed. 1715, p. 445, Third Dialogue, at the end especially. Compare also p. 514: "Plus capable de préférer les pointes de Sénèque au bon sens de Cicéron, et le clinquant de Tasse à l'or de Virgile."

rehabilitate Seneca, Tacitus, and the whole school of silver-age Latinity, or of Montaigne, who was just as consciously the propagandist of the influence of Plutarch and Seneca. For these are controversialists whose testimony is prejudiced. The comments of later writers who have observed the current of their times serves our purpose better. In the Latin translation of his *Advancement of Learning*, published nearly twenty years after the English version, Bacon added a significant passage to his famous denunciation of Ciceronianism, which has wholly escaped the attention of critics. Here he describes another *styli genus*, characterized by conciseness, sententiousness, pointedness, which is likely to follow in time upon a period of oratorical luxury. Such a style is found, he says, in Seneca, Tacitus, and the younger Pliny, "and began not so long ago to prove itself adapted to the ears of our own time."⁶⁰ If this passage had not been concealed in Latin it would have had a greater influence upon our reading of the seventeenth-century prose. It is admirably confirmed by what Father Caussin said in France in 1619: he describes the new form of style in the same way, mentions the same ancient models, adding Sallust to the list, and says it is the style that *everyone now covets*.⁶¹

From the middle of the century an interesting array of parallels in ancient, Biblical, and seventeenth-century literature drawn up by the libertine scholar Gabriel Naudé must suffice. Naudé puts Seneca and Plutarch in the first rank of his preference, as a Montanist should; and with them Epictetus and Aristotle; the Wisdom of Solomon he thinks has the same value; and the chief modern authors of like quality are Montaigne, Charron, and Du Vair.⁶²

After 1650 the knowledge of what has been happening in prose grows steadily clearer; the defects and errors of the first half of the century are under correction, but it is generally recognized that the same models are still preferred, the same "Attic" tendency prevails. Perhaps the most interesting comment of all, because of the genius of its author, is the fragment of Pascal's, cited on a former page, in which he asserts that the spirit of the time has

⁶⁰ *De Aug. Sc.*, I (ed. Spedding, Boston, 1865, vol. II, p. 127).

⁶¹ *De Eloquentia Sacra et Profana*, II, chapters 14-16.

⁶² *Bibliographica Politica*, p. 25 (in *Grotii et Aliorum Dissertationes*, Amsterdam, 1645). See also his *Syntagma de Studio Liberali*, p. 79, and elsewhere.

all been favorable to an intimate style, which portrays things in their familiar form and as they are known as first hand, and that the style of Epictetus, Montaigne, and Louis de Montalte (that is of Pascal himself in the *Lettres*) is of this kind.⁶³ Pascal, it is true, derives his Stoicism, and the intimate style appropriate to it, partly from the Greek spring of Epictetus, but even he was more influenced by the style of his French translation, says Strowski, than by the original; and, as we have had occasion to observe, the Latin sources of neo-Attic were those that availed most for the uses of the seventeenth century. Malebranche, looking back over its history and criticizing it from the angle of a "mathematical" Cartesian, sees three great literary influences, all of the same kind, that have constantly been in operation. Tertullian, Seneca, and Montaigne are the members of this interesting trio; all of them, as he says, enemies of clear thinking and pure reason, because they have more fancy than judgment and dress the truth in colors of imagination.⁶⁴

Finally, in the last year of the century, Shaftesbury sums up the history of Senecan imitation in his *Characteristics*. He describes accurately the form of the familiar essay in the manner in which Seneca had written it, and says: "This is the manner of writing so much admired and imitated in our age, that we have scarce the idea of any other model. . . . All runs to the same tune and beats exactly one and the same measure."⁶⁵

It may be expected by the reader that in order to round off our argument we shall give illustrations of the use of the word "Attic" in the seventeenth century as applied specifically to the style of Seneca and Tacitus and their contemporaries. Many passages could be cited, of course, in which this attribution is implied; but those in which it is expressly stated would not be very numerous. For the age was aware, as our own is, that "Attic" had certain associations which made it seem inappropriate to authors so fond of rhetorical artifice as the Stoics of the first century were, even though it recog-

⁶³ See note 35, p. 102.

⁶⁴ *Recherche de la Vérité*, Eng. Translation, 1694, Book II, Part 3, Chap. 3, "Of the Force of Some Authors' Imagination." Also an additional *Illustration* of this chapter, pp. 144-47.

⁶⁵ *Miscellany*, Book I, Chap. 3 (*Works*, ed. Robertson, 1900, Vol. II). Also I, 1.

nized that their philosophical and intimate manner gave them a general right to this appellation when they are contrasted with the Ciceronian and Isocratean kind of orators. "Attic" in short named in their use a *genus dicendi* that was very general in its character and very inclusive, and they were reluctant, just as the ancients were, to apply it to particular schools of writers. But this need not greatly trouble us. It is not so important for our purpose to defend our use of the term "Attic" as it is to indicate the relation between ancient forms of style and those prevalent in the seventeenth century. [And this relation is exactly expressed by saying, first, that "Attic" meant in the seventeenth century the *genus humile*, and secondly, that the form in which the ancient *genus humile* was actually imitated in its own practise was the form in which it appeared in the prose and poetry of the silver age of Latin literature, and especially in the prose of Seneca and Tacitus.] The term "Attic" is, in truth, not wholly satisfactory; but it is the only one that seems to be available to describe the dominant tendency of the seventeenth-century style, and was also the only one generally used for the purpose in the seventeenth century itself.

Princeton University.

SOME INDICATIONS THAT *THE TEMPEST* WAS REVISED *

By HENRY DAVID GRAY

The Tempest is always grouped with *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale* as one of the "dramatic romances" of Shakespeare's final period, but it is essentially different in tone from its companion pieces. The happy outcome of the story is never in doubt; the power of the wise Prospero is never questioned; the happiness and love which are Miranda's due are as assured as her innocence and beauty. Though there is storm and shipwreck, it is only that good may come of it; if conspirators draw their swords their arms are stayed by invisible powers; the labors of Ferdinand are but a two-hours' task, cheered by the presence of Miranda. There is no tyranny of jealous love, as in *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*; the triumph of injustice was of long ago, and is now ready for adjustment and forgiveness. Indeed, the play is as full of music as of magic, of tenderness and charm as of strange and gorgeous devices; it is above all things appropriate for the celebration of some brilliant and festive occasion.

These obvious characteristics led certain commentators,¹ par-

* After this paper was presented at the Modern Language Association meeting in Columbus, Ohio, on March 31, 1920, there appeared an article by Mr. W. J. Lawrence (*Fortnightly Review*, June, 1920), which supports some of my conclusions. Mr. Lawrence regards the masque as written for the betrothal rather than the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. I have no objection to this substitution. But whether for the betrothal or the marriage itself, the masque must, I believe, have been no part of the original play; and how far this may lead us (together with other considerations) to determine the nature of the drama as it existed in 1611 is the chief concern of my paper.

¹ See Chalmers, Tieck, Garnett, as cited by Furness (*New Variorum* edition of *The Tempest*, pp. 281, 302 f.). Chalmers and Tieck regard the play as inspired by the occasion though not written directly for it. Garnett's statement of the case is contained in full in his *Essays of an Ex-Librarian*, pp. 29-54. Later upholders of the same view are Brandes (*William Shakespeare*, chap. xx), Henry James (Caxton Shakespeare), and Liddell (*The Elizabethan Shakspeare, The Tempest*, Introduction).

ticularly Richard Garnett, to contend that *The Tempest* was composed not as a regular stage play, but as a court entertainment, to celebrate the marriage of King James's daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, to Frederick, the Elector Palatine. This marriage took place in 1613, and that year was consequently assigned by these critics as the date of the first production of the drama. The specific reasons offered for their belief were mainly these: (1) that *The Tempest* is only about two-thirds of the length of the average Shakespearean drama, and hence is suited to such an occasion; (2) that it contains a formal wedding masque which is in itself wholly undramatic, which sadly impedes the action of the drama, and which therefore must be regarded as existing for its own sake—that is, for the sake of celebrating a marriage which that of Miranda and Ferdinand is meant to symbolize; (3) that in its abundance of spectacle, its many songs, and in its economy of scene-shifting, it also partakes very largely of the nature of a court entertainment; (4) that the Lady Elizabeth—the sheltered Island Princess brought up in strict seclusion and now about to marry her princely lover from over seas—is closely paralleled by Miranda in the play, as Frederick is by Ferdinand, while King James would be delicately flattered by the inference that he is shadowed forth as Prospero; and (5) that we have record of a performance of *The Tempest* as part of the celebration of the prince's visit, when he came to England for his official courtship and marriage.²

Though other plays were also given in honor of the prince and the Lady Elizabeth, by other companies as well as by the King's men,³ these would be received simply as dramatic entertainments; but it is inconceivable that the striking analogy presented by *The Tempest*, with its formal wedding masque invoking a heavenly

² The Count Palatine arrived in England on October 16, 1612. The betrothal ceremony took place on December 27. The wedding was on Shrove-Sunday, February 14, 1613. The prince and his bride left London on April 10. Lord Harrington, Treasurer of the Chamber to King James I, "paid to John Heminges uppon the councells warrant, dated at Whitehall xx^e die Mai, 1613, for presentinge before the Princes Hignes, the La. Elizabeth, and the Prince Pallatyne Elector, fowerteene severall playes," of which *The Tempest* was one. Vertue's MS., cited by Furness, p. 275. As *Philaster* and *Love Lies A-Bleeding* are given as separate items, it is assumed that thirteen is the correct number.

³ Fleay: *A Chronicle History of the London Stage*, p. 175.

blessing upon the bridal pair, could be witnessed with unconscious unconcern by those in whose honor it was definitely presented. If it is inconceivable that they could have taken it as anything else than a personal tribute, is it conceivable that it could have been prepared in this way without an equally conscious intention on the part of the author?

In spite of all this, a majority of the critics held to 1611 as the probable date of composition of *The Tempest*; and when a reference in the Accounts of the Revels at Court⁴ to a performance on November 1 of that year, long supposed to be a forgery, was proved by Mr. Ernest Law to be genuine,⁵ it was no longer possible to believe that Shakespeare wrote his comedy for the Lady Elizabeth's wedding. And yet, the points just mentioned seem to some of us difficult to account for on any other basis. It is the purpose of this paper to consider what arguments there are for believing that *The Tempest* of 1611 was closer, both in length and character, to *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, and that it was cut down and revised, with the masque features added, to suit it for this special occasion. This has been offered as an unconfirmed suggestion by two or three commentators, because it would so obviously reconcile the fact of the 1611 date with the characteristics of the play as we have it. My paper, therefore, is an attempt to substantiate what has already been felt to be a reasonable conjecture.⁶

⁴ Edited by Peter Cunningham for the Shakespeare Society, 1842.

⁵ *Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries*, 1911.

⁶ Verplanck suggested that advantage was taken of the occasion "to improve and give novelty to the piece by revisal and enlargement" (Furness, p. 297). Morton Luce, while vigorously opposing Garnett's theory, remarks, "The play, written earlier, might have been shortened and otherwise modified to suit the royal occasion; and it is also possible that this shortened form is *The Tempest* as we now have it" (Arden edition, p. xxii). Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch believes that this was the case (Shakespeare's Workmanship, 1917, p. 282). Some have held merely that the masque was inserted later. Fleay attributes the masque to Beaumont (*Life and Work of Shakespeare*, p. 249), an opinion which Robertson thinks "fairly well grounded" (*Shakespeare and Chapman*, 1917, p. 210). But it is quite impossible that the play could have stood at all as it is before the masque was added, as the mere removal of the masque would leave almost nothing to the fourth act. As the play stands, it occupies, says Herford, "the place of a strict dramatic crisis" (Eversley edition, p. 400). Whether or not Shakespeare called in the services of a practiced masque maker is another question, since he could have done so either in writing or revising.

The arguments which were brought against the Garnett theory before Mr. Law made it untenable by proving the 1611 date to be beyond peradventure⁷ must be briefly examined lest some of them should apply as well against so thorough-going a revision as I am now about to propose. Sir Sidney Lee comments that "the plot of *The Tempest*, which revolves about the forcible expulsion of a ruler from his dominions, and his daughter's wooing by the son of the usurper's chief ally, was hardly one that a shrewd playwright would deliberately choose as the setting of an official epithalamium in honour of the daughter of a monarch so sensitive about his title to the crown as James I."⁸ The main plot would, of course, according to our theory, belong with the original writing, so Shakespeare did not "deliberately choose," but the play itself was, we know, deliberately chosen as a part of the royal celebration. It could not, therefore, have seemed offensive. The same thing may be said as to any comparison between James I and Prospero. A second objection is that there is nothing to distinguish *The Tempest* from the twelve other plays in Harrington's list; that all of these were old plays,⁹ while some, such as *Othello*, were long. But the nature of the play itself is what differentiates it from the other dramas in the group. A third objection is given by Borton Luce.¹⁰ Granting the special fitness of *The Tempest* to commemorate some marriage at court, Mr. Luce says, "There was a marriage between the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard in 1611." This, besides overlooking the peculiar appropriateness of the drama to the case of the Lady Elizabeth, has the disadvantage of not being true. Essex married Frances Howard in 1606. By 1611, the earliest possible date for *The Tempest*, the disgraceful proceedings which two years later led to their divorce and the shameful remarriage of

⁷ "Audi alteram partem" did indeed offer objections in a series of communications to the *Athenaeum*, 1911, 1912 (see Index). Mr. Law's answers, with some supplementary matter, were published in his volume *More About Shakespeare Forgeries*, 1913. But what settled the matter was expert testimony based on chemical and microscopic examination of ink and paper; and this matter was not questioned in the later dispute.

⁸ *A Life of William Shakespeare*, New Edition, p. 432 n.

⁹ So it is frequently stated. Of one of them, however, we have no other record, so it may have been new. But this play, judging by the title, which is all we know of it, could scarcely have been intended as an epithalamium. It is "the Knott of Fooles"!

¹⁰ Arden Edition, p. xxii, n.

Lady Essex to Rochester, had already become a public scandal. Moreover, there seems to have been no other marriage at Court, celebrated with masque and pageantry, for which *The Tempest* could possibly have been written.¹¹ Its marriage features, therefore, must have been introduced in the revision, or we must be content not to explain them.¹²

It is fair to say, therefore, that the arguments brought against the theory that Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest* in celebration of the Lady Elizabeth's marriage do not count against the suggestion that he carefully revised it for that occasion. On the other hand, the arguments in favor of the original theory do not lose their cogency when reapplied on the present basis, except in one instance. The sheltered Island Princess who married a King's son from far away belonged of course to the drama of 1611, and could only be significant as suggesting a correspondence which was already there. It would be because of this fundamental similarity that *The Tempest* could be made over into a veritable epithalamium.

That *The Tempest* is a thousand lines shorter than the average Shakespearean drama, and that the wedding masque is only to be adequately explained by its appropriateness to the Lady Elizabeth's marriage, are arguments equally applicable to the theory of an original writing or to that of a revision of the drama in honor of the occasion; but I have one further consideration to offer regarding these outstanding features of the play which seems to me significant. The device of the magic banquet,¹³ the formal wedding

¹¹ Nichols, in his *Progresses of James I*, records no marriage celebrated in this way after that of Viscount Haddington to Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, February 11, 1608, until we come to that of the Princess in 1613; nor can I find any in the various records of the period.

¹² That *The Tempest* was acted at Court on Hallowmas Night, 1611, does not in the least indicate that it was written as a court entertainment. "As it was the custom of the age," says Cunningham, "not to produce a play at court, 'for his Matys Regal disport and recreation,' before it had been stamped with public approbation on a public stage, *The Tempest* was in all likelihood first produced at the Globe, in the summer of 1611" (*Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. 225). Not, however, at the Globe. As Professor Cunliffe says, it "was probably first produced on the stage of the company's theatre at Blackfriars a few months before, and it seems to have become immediately popular" (*Shakespeare's Principal Plays*, p. 920).

¹³ "The pantomime and ballet," as Brandes well notes, "are much more

masque, and the humorous antimasque in which the Caliban conspiracy is resolved,¹⁴ that is, all the matters which make the play peculiarly appropriate to the special occasion, come packed together within a space of 350 lines. And it is precisely where these special features come into the drama that it turns aside from being the full-length play that one might well have expected up to that point. The first two acts of *The Tempest* are not unduly short. Indeed, they are a hundred lines longer than the first two acts of *The Winter's Tale*. Moreover, there is a notable abruptness in Prospero's suddenly announcing that his trials of Ferdinand's love are over, that he has already bestowed Miranda upon the Prince, and then proceeding at once to present the marriage masque. The main plot of the drama is practically abandoned and the celebration of the nuptials stands in its stead. As Professor Baker says: "Early we start, with Ferdinand and Miranda, a love story that might easily lead to many complications, but it drops into the background. The plan of Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo to kill Prospero and Miranda might easily result in a number of scenes; it produces one in which they are nearly routed by the fairies. The group of shipwrecked royalty might easily provide much more story and incident than it does."¹⁵ Is it not likely that the original drama worked out these various stories in Shakespeare's usual way? If so, *The Tempest* of 1611 was probably a much more sombre play,—perhaps as nearly tragic in tones as *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*.

It is in connection with the Caliban conspiracy that I first found any indication as to the character of a possible revision. At the close of the wedding masque, when he suddenly recalls this affair, Prospero exhibits a degree of excitement and concern which the occasion does not seem to warrant. He interrupts the dance of the Nymphs and Reapers (which must therefore have belonged with the original writing of the drama, the formal wedding masque being afterwards joined to it), saying in an aside,

elaborate than would have been necessary if the scene were only there for its own sake. . . . King James had, as we know, a fancy for all manner of stage machinery, and Inigo Jones contrived quantities of it for use at court festivals." (*William Shakespeare: A Critical Study*, vol. II, p. 368.)

¹⁴ The similarity to the antimasques has been noted by Professor Thorndike (*Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare*, pp. 146, 7).

¹⁵ *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, p. 298.

I had forgot that foul conspiracy
Of the beast Caliban and his confederates
Against my life.

Ferdinand says to Miranda,

This is strange; your father's in some passion
That works him strongly;

and she answers,

Never till this day
Saw I him touch'd with anger so distemper'd.

Sending the lovers away with,

A turn or two I'll take
To still my beating mind,

Prospero calls Ariel, saying,

Spirit,
We must prepare to meet with Caliban;

and then what happens? Ariel merely hangs some gay clothing on the lime tree, which the foolish confederates start to steal; and then there enter "divers Spirits, in shape of dogs and hounds, hunting them about, Prospero and Ariel setting them on." There is after all no danger or difficulty to be overcome. Indeed, throughout the whole drama there is, as everyone will admit, no fair encounter between Prospero and Caliban; the dice are too heavily loaded on the side of virtue. Prospero has all the power. With his books he can compel the spirits to obey him; with his magic staff he can prevent the Prince from drawing his sword; he can charm the King and his followers in a magic circle; he can raise and quiet tempests; indeed, what is there that he cannot do? Against him is pitted the poor drudge Caliban, rebellious, but living in mortal dread of the cramps and pinchings, the "urchin-shows" and ape-bitings which Prospero at will can send upon him. To Caliban he has such power,

It would control my dam's god, Setebos,
And make a vassel of him.

And when he does conspire against the mighty magician, who are his associates? The drunken butler Stephano and the simple-minded jester Trinculo. Why, then, does Prospero so gird himself for a mighty encounter which turns out to be only a chasing about

the stage of drunk and helpless clowns? Instinctively we feel that he must have had in mind the danger to Miranda; but unless the threat against his life had in it more actual menace than proves to be the case there was no more need of concern for her than for himself. And it is distinctly the conspiracy "against my life" which moves him to such passion.

But if *The Tempest* was made over into a more suitable piece to celebrate the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth, the features of a court entertainment must have been supplied in place of other matter less appropriate to the brilliant occasion. It is surely possible that the drama as first written showed the cause of Prospero's fear; and it is equally possible that the source of the Caliban plot might reveal the motive of his conduct.

I have endeavored to show elsewhere¹⁶ what the source of the Caliban-Stephano-Trinculo story must have been. For my purposes here it is sufficient to say that in the original story (if I am right about it) the conspirators actually steal the magician's book. The attendant spirits at once appear, ready to obey them. The conspirators plot the destruction of the magician, and are only prevented by the latter's finally getting all the other characters into a magic circle, as Prospero now does with Alonso and his followers. If some such genuine menace formed a part of the plot of *The Tempest* as first written, it is easy to see the reason for Prospero's behavior.

Such an abridgement of *The Tempest* as I have suggested, with the masque features substituted for the later development of the plot, would involve little alteration of the text, and the indications that we find of readjustment are few and negligible. For the sake of completeness I may set down the following.

(1) In III, iii, 11-17, Antonio and Sebastian plan a renewal of their plot to kill Alonso and Gonzalo, and of this we hear no more. As the play stands, it is clearly a "mislead." It may well be that in revising his play for the royal occasion Shakespeare would delete any more serious attempt at regicide.

(2) In v, i, 75-78, Prospero tells of the plot to kill Alonso and fifty lines later says that he *could* reveal this treason but

At this time

I will tell no tales.

¹⁶ *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1920.

As the play is given we are to suppose that in the first instance Alonso has not sufficiently recovered from the magic spell to understand the words; but in this case there is no apparent reason for the words being spoken at all. The speech reads as though it had been written as a direct address.

To these I may add the following which have been suggested by others:

(3) Mention is made of the Duke of Milan's "brave son" as being in the shipwreck, whereas no such character appears. Staunton comments that unless this was Francisco we are "driven to suppose that, to shorten the representation, the character as delineated by Shakespeare was altogether struck out by the actors, while the allusion to it was inadvertently retained."¹⁷

(4) The passage immediately following this reference has been challenged by Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant:¹⁸ "Prospero's 'Soft, sir! One word more,' when the previous words are not given, is a token of curtailment." I can find no comfort in this "token."¹⁹

(5) The humorous interruption in II, i, 10-106, was regarded by Pope as an interpolation, and it is fair to say that it does produce something of that effect.²⁰ Its presence, if added later, would be accounted for by the desire to lighten the play.

¹⁷ Furness, p. 87.

¹⁸ *Modern Language Review*, III, 346.

¹⁹ Prospero says that "At first sight they have chang'd eyes. Delicate Ariel, I'll set thee free for this." Then he addresses Ferdinand: "A word, good sir; I fear you have done yourself some wrong. A word." This does not mean, as it is usually interpreted, in calling himself king of Naples, but, I take it, in looking with too eager eyes upon Miranda. During Miranda's speech which follows, clearly an aside, he whispers his warning to the young prince. Ferdinand answers Prospero by addressing Miranda herself: "O, if a virgin, And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you 'The Queen of Naples.'" To this Prospero answers, "Soft, sir; one word more." In an aside he then informs the audience that

They are both in either's powers; but this swift business
I must uneasy make, lest too light winning
Make the prize light.

Acting upon his plan to test Ferdinand, he then assumes his rôle of harshness. The "one word more" is in addition to his whispered warning, and is not an indication that anything is omitted. This would be clear in the acting.

²⁰ I cannot feel that Alonso's apparent reference to a passage in the

(6) Attention has been directed by Nicholson to some smothered rimes in *The Tempest*, from which he concludes that the play "was, at least, so far as the versification is concerned, wholly recast."²¹ His argument is not (to me) in the least convincing.

Except that the antimasque feature of the "strange shapes" which carry in the banquet, dance about it, and finally "with mocks and mows" carry out the table may have been thus elaborated in the revision, I see nothing outside of the fourth act of *The Tempest* which could not with entire consistency with our theory have been in the original version of the play. The fifth act as it stands could have been the final scene of a drama in which the three sets of characters,—the royal group, the lovers, and the clowns,—had all received further treatment. There are some few hints in the play as to what might have been the development between Act III, scene iii, and the final scene of the drama:

(1) At the end of III, iii, Alonso and his followers leave the stage without any apparent restriction upon their power to act of their own free will. The king's last words before leaving the stage are,

Therefore my son i' the ooze is bedded, and
I'll seek him deeper than e'er the plummet sounded
And with him there lie mudded.

In v, i, when we next hear of them, Ariel says they are

confined together

In the same fashion as you gave in charge,
Just as you left them; all prisoners, sir,
In the line-grove which weather-fends your cell;
They cannot budge till your release.

The frustrating of Antonio and Sebastian's second attempt to kill Alonso and Gonzalo, ending by making the whole group close prisoners, may have been the business of one scene.

(2) As already indicated, Prospero's behavior in iv, i, 139-166, the insistence upon securing the books in Caliban's speech, III, ii, 95-106, and the actual stealing of the books in the source suggest the possibility of this as perhaps the climax of the drama. As the

omitted portion is a convincing answer; for such an interruption is more likely to be a substitution than a mere insertion.

²¹ Furness, p. 302.

play stands it is without a correct structural climax. There is no limit to the possibilities which such a situation could involve. The capture of Miranda by the spirits now forced to obey Stephano, which is also hinted in the source, would have supplied the note of tragic seriousness which we find in *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*. It will be recalled that the three things which the conspirators planned are the stealing of the books, the capture of Miranda, and the murder of Prospero, all of which are treated in the source.²² Dramatically considered, *The Tempest* also gives us hints that while Ariel, as the more potent spirit, was able to remain true to Prospero, the "meaner ministers" attended upon "King Stephano" which he opened the magic books:

Remember

First to possess his books; for without them
He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
One spirit to command. They all do hate him
As rootedly as I. Burn but his books.

What is more to the point is the insistence throughout upon Ariel's obedience and Prospero's constant bargaining with him: a little longer service for his final freedom. The first suggestion of Ariel's reluctant service throws Prospero into an unreasoning fury. We grant something to the petulance of old age, and more to the rage at manifest ingratitude which Shakespeare's sympathetic characters so often exhibit; but there remains still a discrepancy between Ariel's gentle "reminder" and Prospero's sudden excitement. So far as the King and his associates were concerned, there was little need for Ariel's assistance once the affair of the shipwreck was arranged. But the first hint of disobedience at once brings out Ariel's former servitude:

Thou liest, malignant thing! Hast thou forgot
The foul witch Sycorax?

It need not have been without dramatic point that Ariel's hint of unwilling service, the reference to his former servitude to another, and Prospero's unreasoning excitement are all associated with the introduction of Caliban.

²² Compare the present writer's "The Sources of *The Tempest*" in *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1920. My argument therein is strongly reinforced by Mr. W. J. Lawrence in the (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, November 11, 1920.

This, then, is the argument in favor of the view that Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest* in 1611 as a full-length play, and that he adapted it, somewhat in the manner indicated, for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. If our theory is measurably near the truth, it may contain a drop of comfort for those who have believed—and it has been said by some critics who are not prone to be fanciful or sentimental—that Shakespeare gave through Prospero his final message to the world. We need not be troubled by certain indications that *The Winter's Tale* was composed after *The Tempest*. It would be when he had ceased even from his collaboration with Fletcher, when he knew that his work was finished, that Shakespeare gave his final touches to *The Tempest*, and "bade farewell to his art."

Stanford University.

NOTES ON PURITANISM AND THE STAGE

BY THORNTON S. GRAVES

Surely, thinks one who has labored through the thousand pages of Prynne's *Histriomastix*, this voracious Puritan has cited all early English writers who have concerned themselves with the desirability or undesirability of the stage. Recent scholars, however, like Thompson,¹ Cullen,² and Wilson,³ have called attention to various passages bearing upon the controversy which escaped the industry of the zealous Prynne. So widespread was the interest in the fight against the theater and so varied were the authors who expressed themselves on the subject, that not even these later scholars have unearthed in English literature prior to 1642 all the passages written in defence or condemnation of the stage. It is the purpose, therefore, of the first section of this article to present in a more or less haphazard manner a few minor contributions to the struggle between the Puritans and the theater which have not been indicated in the recent discussions of the subject. The passages in question are of minor importance; they add practically nothing to the stock arguments employed during the controversy; they are, nevertheless, I believe, deserving of citation as further evidence of the large number of writers of varied interests and stations in life who involved themselves in the quarrel. A second section will handle, in a more connected manner, a few phases of the controversy subsequent to the closing of the theaters in 1642, and will endeavor to show that the defenders of the stage were not so idle during the years 1642-1660 as is sometimes supposed—that at least some of the credit usually assigned to D'Avenant for keeping alive an interest in the theater during its darkest days in England must be shared with his contemporaries. A final section will present certain evidence to show that the objectors to the stage were by no means silent after the return of Charles II, even if it took a Jeremy Collier

¹ *The Controversy between Puritans and Stage* (1903).

² *Puritanism and the Stage* (Proceedings Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, Vol. XLIII (1911-1912), pp. 153-81).

³ *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VI, Chap. XIV.

to make the morality of the playhouse a matter of considerable flurry and excitement.

I.

Along with the objections of Babington, Bownd, and numerous other writers on the Sabbath and on questions of morality should be considered the following expressions of opinion regarding Sunday performances. In *The Gallants Burden*, a sermon preached at Paul's Cross during Lent, 1612, Thomas Adams asks if "the Benches in Tauerns, & Theaters" are not "well replenished" when those at Paul's Cross are almost empty (Ed. 1616, p. 9). He also declares, it may be noted in passing, that the epicure is accustomed to visit first the tavern, then the ordinary, next the theater, and finally the stews—"from Wine to Ryot, from that to the Playes and from them to Harlots" (p. 32); and he objects that the theater is the "contemplation" of libertines (p. 33). Francis Rous in his *Oile of Scorpions* (1623) does not specify the playhouse as one of the cardinal vices of his generation, yet he refers with approval to the act forbidding plays on Sunday and obviously holds the actors in contempt, as is indicated by his allusion to "A Player-like Fashionist" (p. 78) and his reference to Cyprian: "When a Player was turned Christian (a farre better change then for a Christian to turne Player) hee would continue his Playing by this reason, because Playing was his maintenance" (p. 71). R. Junius in his *Compleat Armour against Evill Society* (1638) questions: "For, art thou inclined to pray? they will tempt thee to play: wouldest thou goe to a Sermon? by their perswasion the Taverne or Theater stands in the way" (p. 857). In his *The Drunkard's Character*, printed in the same volume with his *Compleat Armour*, he asserts that drunkards go continually from the "taphouse to the play house, where they make a march for the brothel house, and from thence to bed againe: so that they either doe nothing, or that which is worse then nothing" (p. 77). Finally Francis Quarles, like Lodge, Heywood and other friends of the theater, laments in his *Divine Fancies* (1632) that playhouses are open on Sunday (Bk. II, No. 77).

While, strictly speaking, they do not bear any close connection to the stage controversy, a few interesting, though uncomplimentary, allusions to actors may be cited, especially since they do not seem to be generally known. Simon Smel-knave in his *Fearefull and Lamentable Effects of two dangerous Comets* (1590?) predicts:

"Poets and Players shall be Kinges by this meanes for the one may lye by authoritie, the other cogge without controule; the one as necessary in a Commonweale, as a candle in a strawbed, the other as famous in idlenes, as dissolute in liuing; blest in their marriages for communitie, holding Aristotles axiome for Authentically: *Bonum quo communius, eo melius*," (p. 11). In his *The Blacke-Year* (1606) Anthony Nixon also makes a prophesy: "Players shal haue libertie to be as famous in pride and idlenes, as they are dissolute in liuing, and as blest in their marriages for communitie, as vnhappy in their choyces for honesty" (Sig. C₃). Richard Middleton in his *Epigrams* (1608) has an epigram "In Histrioclanum," in which the actor is represented as whoring and as drinking in his master's cellar during "high time of sermon"—both for his "master's credit." J. H.'s reference to actors in his *This World's Folly* (1615), although it is fairly well known, is worth quoting: "I will not particularize those *Blitea dramata* (as *Laherius* termes another sort) those *Fortune-fatted* fooles, and Times Ideots, whose garbe is the Toothache of witte, the Plague-sore of Judgement, the Common-server of Obscaenities, and the very Traine-powder that dischargeth the roaring *Meg* (not *Mol*) of all scurrile villanies upon the Citie's face; who are faine to produce blinde ⁴ *Impudence*, to personate himself vpon their stage, behung with chaynes of Garlicke, as an Antidote against their owne infectious breaths, lest it should kill their Oyster-crying Audience.⁵ Vos quoque, and you also, who with *Scylla*-barking, *Stentor*-throated bellowing, flash-choaking squibbes of absurd vanities into the nostrils of your spectators; barbarously diuerting *Nature*, and defacing Gods owne image, by metamorphising humane ⁶ shape into bestiall forme" (Sig. B₂). B. N.'s *Strange Newes out of Divers Countries* (1622) contains this statement: "They had moreouer a kind of Rimers, and Ballad penners, which were great proficientes to the Players and Pedlers, which are the fooles of Poets, for they taste little of Poetry more then the last two letters: but for the pot,

⁴ Printed marginal note: "Garlicke." This is a reference to "Garlick's jig" referred to several times in the literature of the period. Cf. also Gosson's objection to the actor who danced naked in a net and *The Distracted Emperor*, v, 4.

⁵ Printed marginal note: "Or, tu quoque."

⁶ Printed marginal note: "Greenes Baboone."

they may well challenge that badge, for it is the maintainer of their Muses" (Sig. B₂).

A few passages are worth citing in connection with the familiar argument⁷ that the players were accustomed to "gird at the greatest personages of all estates," as the Epistle to the 1594 edition of *The French Academy* puts it.⁸ In 1611 William Vaughan, who in his *Golden Grove* (1608) had given six reasons why plays are "intolerable in a well governed commonwealth" (Bk. I, Chap. 66) and in his commentary on the first satire of Persius had pointed out that young gentlemen of the Inne of Court waste too much time at stage plays (*ibid.*, Bk., IV, Chap. 34), devoted "Lineament X," of "Circle 3" in his *The Spirit of Detraction* to "Certain Detractions of our common stage-players": "Herein our common *Stage-players* and *Comicke-writers* have as many witnesses as the world hath eyes, that all kind of persons, without respect of sexe or degree are nickt and nipped, rayled and reviled by these snarling curre-dogs. For let a man endeavour to walke uprightly, in the sight of God, separating himselfe as neere as he can from tatling tospots and Tobacconists, loth to sit in the seat of the scornefull and un-righteous, lest he become like will to like, and especially loth to

⁷ Of course the Puritans were not the only persons to make such a complaint. Neither Vaughan nor Melton, for example, whose complaints are cited in the present paper, can hardly be called Puritans. Heywood, too, in his *Apology*, regretted the perversity of the actors in this respect, and Sir William Herbert in *A Prophecie of Cadwallader* (1604) addressed the "Young Prince" in these words:

"Curbe the malignant pride of envies rage,
And checke the stubborne stomackes of disdaine,
These penny Poets of our brazen stage,
Which always wish—O let them wish in vaine!—
With Rossius gate thy government staine.
Make them more mild, or be thou more austere;
Tis vertue unto vice to be severe."

(Collier, *Rarest Books in Eng. Lang.*, II, 121.)

For similar complaints see Gildersleeve, *Gov. Regulation of Eliz. Drama*, *passim*, and Graves in *Anglia* (1914), pp. 137-156.

⁸ Cf. Collier's *Poetical Decameron*, II, 278. Some say that the translator of this work was Thomas Beard; the British Museum Catalogue assigns the translation to Thomas Bowes. Note in this connection that the title-page of the 1586 edition states that the work was translated from French "into English by T. B.," and the dedication to John Barnes is signed "T. B. C."

communicate in the *Eucharist* with such notorious and prophane persons; presently these Ganders gagle, that such a one is an hypocrite, or a peevish puritane. Let a man be silent, putting the barre of discretion before his lips, lest his tongue trippe, and procure hurt, according to that:

Nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse locutum.

No hurt by silence comes; but speech brings hurt:

These muttering Momes paint out, that he is a meacocke, a melancholicke Mummer, or a simple sot. Let an ingenuous scholler salted with experience, seasoned with Christian doctrine, having his heart seared and sealed with zeale and charity, let him but broach forth the barrell of his wit, which *God* hath given him; they crie out that his braine is but an empty barrell, his wit but barren, his matter borrowed out of other mens bookes" (pp. 110-111). John Melton devotes a chapter of his *A size-Folde Politician* (1609) to the "Usurping Poets of the title of Pollicie." He asserts that dramatists do not hesitate to satirize individuals and "intermeddle with the 2 edged sworde of the state" (pp. 37 ff.); and he hopes that adequate laws will be made "for the punishing of such scandalous libeling as is, or may be at any time coloured vnder the name of poetising and play-making" (p. 42).

J. H. in *This World's Folly* (1615), during his tirade against the playhouse, pays his respects to the dramatists, "those mercenary *Squitter-wits* mis-called *Poets*" who dip their pens "in the puddle of mischief" and "strike at the head of *Nobility, Authority* and *high-seated greatnesse*." (Sig. B₃).

Not very well known are a few passages which, like those by Northbrooke, Gosson and Richard Brathwaite, point out the peculiar danger of the theater to women. William Averell, student in divinity and schoolmaster in London, exclaims on several occasions in his *A Dyall for Dainty Darlings* (1584) against the sins of the girls of his time. Especially interesting is his reference to the "gadding girles," who laugh, dance, paint, wander to weddings, "thrust in at Theaters & Trip to Taverns." William Vaughan in *The Spirit of Detraction* (1615) explains that women frequently lose their reputation on account of their donning gaudy costumes and attending "stage playes" and public dances "upon Sundayes and Holydayes" (p. 345). A passage from Robert An-

ton's rare "*Vices Anotimie Scourged and Corrected* (1617) is worth quoting at some length:

"Why doe our *lustfull* Theaters entice,
 And personate in liuely action vice;
 Draw to the *Cities* shame, with *gilded Olothes*,
 Such *Swarmes* of wiues to breake their *nuptiall othes*:
 Or why are *women* rather growne so mad,
 That their *immodest feete* like *planets* gad
 With such *irregular motion* to base *Playes*,
 Where all the *deadly sinnes* keepe *hollidaies*.
 There shall they see the *vices* of the times,
Orestes incest, *Cleopatres* crimes,
Lucullus surfets, and *Poppeas* pride.
Virginears rape, and wanton *Lais* hide
 Her *sirens charmes* in such *eare-charming sense*;
 As it would turne a modest audience,
 To *brazen-fac'et* profession of a *whore*.
 Their *histories* perswade, but *action* more,
Vices well coucht in pleasing *Sceanes* present,
 More *will* to act, there *action* can inuent.
 And this the reason, unless *heauen preuent*,
 Why *women* most at *Playes* turne impudent,

 But I could wish their *Modestie* confin'd,
 To a more *ciuill* and *graue libertie*,
 Of *will* and *free election*: carefullie
 Hating this *hellish confluence* of the stage,
 That breeds more grosse *infections* to the age
 Of *separations*, and religious *bonds*,
 Than e're *relegion*, with her *hallowed hands*
 Can reunite" (pp. 46-47).

Before citing various passages commendatory of the theater, it will be well to refer to a few miscellaneous objections to the playhouse, objections which have apparently escaped Thompson and other students of the stage controversy. Dudley Fenner in *A Short and Profitable Treatise of Lawfull and Unlawfull Recreations* (1587), excluded plays from lawful recreations, because they violate I Peter, i., 14, where men are forbidden to "take up the outward fasion" of evil men. Lodge in his *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse Discovering the Devils Incarnate of this Age* (1596), while he approves harmless drama, is vigorous in his denunciation of scurrility in the playhouse, advising the actors to write the following over their theaters:

"Nil dictu foedum visuque, haec limina tangat.

Let noght vnfit to see or to be said,

Be toucht, or in these houses be bewraid" (p. 40).

Crosse's *Vertues Common-wealth* (1603) contains numerous objections to the stage; J. H.'s *This Worlds Folly*, quotations from which have already been given, has a three-page denunciation of the theater, which concludes with the wish that the hand of authority may tear off the "Menstruous Ragges," [i. e., the "Bawdy Players," as a marginal note explains] from "the Citie's Skirts, which so besoyle and coinquinate her whole vesture." Thomas Freeman in *Rubbe and a Great Cast* (1614) and Sir John Harington at the conclusion of *The Metamorphosis of Ajax* resent the prayer uttered at the end of plays by actors whose lips have just been profaned with "Scurrile Jeasts"; Brathwaite in his *Survey of History* (1638) refers to the "mercenary actors" who "spurt out some obscene jeast to make a prophane Rogue applaud him" (p. 240); and Francis Lenton in *The Young Gallants Whirligig* (1629) has an interesting passage in which he declares that plays are the "Nurseries of Vice,"

"Which draw more youth unto the damned cell
Of furious Lust, then all the Devill could doe
Since he obtained his first overthrow."

And finally, it may be mentioned at this point that John Owen in his *Conduct of the Stage Consider'd* (1721) cites "Dr. Taylor, the famous Preacher of Aldermany"—that is, Thomas Taylor, who died in 1633—along with Beard as opposing "Plays and Comedies and such like May-Games" (p. 27). Somewhat earlier the author of *The Stage Condemn'd* (1698) quotes a passage (p. 95) against stage-plays from Matthew Parker's *De Antiquitate Ecclesiae Britannicae*, and asserts (p. 97) that "Doctor Griffith, Doctor Williams, Doctor Elton and Mr. Don on the seventh commandment" all condemn stage-plays, as does Dr. Layton in his *Speculum Belli Sacri*.

A few statements commendatory of the theater are worth considering in connection with such elaborate defenses as those of Lodge and Haywood. In *The Praise of Musicke* (1586) Dr. John Case (?), while discussing the "particular use" of music at marriages, feasts, and similar occasions, writes as follows (pp. 80-81): "For I dare not speake of dauncing or theatrall spectacles, least I pull whole swarmes of enimies upon me. Albeit Lexbonax of My-

tilen, honestus plane vir & bonus, a man I am sure, aswell titled, as the curiously minded called dauncers . . . men teaching wisdom even with their hands, and often went to theaters, giuing this testimony of them, that he euer returnd home the better by them. I confesse I am accessory to their iniurie against musick in bereauing it of these two so ample & notable prouinces, bicause I doe not by open resistance hinder their riot. For howsoeuer obcenity may bring the stage in suspicion of unchastnes and incontineny, make dauncing disfauorable and odious, I am sure that neither of them keeping themselues under saile, that is not ouerreaching their honest and lawfull circumstances, can want either good groundes to authorize them, or sufficient patronage to maintaine them." Joseph Wybarne in *The New Age of Old Names* (1609), while he disapproves of cock-fighting and the baiting of animals (Section IV), is very practical in his attitude toward the playhouse (pp. 52-54). "The Abuse of sundry Theaters," he writes, "here seemes to present it selfe, which were they reduced to their first institution, might heale as much as they now hurt." After discussing certain features of the ancient theater, he says: "Notwithstanding, if we marke how young men spend the latter end of the day in gaming, drinking, whoring, it were better to tolerate playes with *Augustus*, *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Traian*, and other good Emperours, then with *Domitian* to cut downe the vines, least tillage be neglected . . . For it is a Principle in Policie, that the deteining of the multitude by publicke spectacles, is a great obstacle to many base and clandestine Actions . . . so I feare if all publicke sports were restrained, our Country would soone turne to sottishnesse or mutineys." No. 207 of John Owen's Epigrams (translation of Thomas Harvey) declares that preachers and players

"check our crimes; with Teares
The Preachers, and the Players with Jeers."

No. XX of Owen Feltham's *Resolves* (1628) compares preachers and players. Whereas he laments the "obscene scurrilities" which the stage sometimes presents, he is very complimentary in his references to actors and the drama, asserting that "the weighty lines men find upon the stage, I am persuaded, have been the lures to draw away the Pulpits followers." Ralph Knevet in an interesting epistle to the Society of Florists, prefixed to his *Rhodon and Iris*, a pastoral "presented at the Florists Feast in Norwich, May 3,

1631," writes that he has been accused by the "malicious discretion" of the overly devout of satirizing private persons in his play. For such enemies of the drama he has little respect:

"But some there be that are so pure and sage,
That they doe utterly abhorre a Stage,
Because they would be still accounted holy,
And know, the Stage doth oft bewray their folly.
You could but wonder to see what distaste
They tooke, to see an Hypocrite uncas'd:
Oh had they power, they would the Author use
As ill as *Bacchus* Priests did *Orpheus*."

II

Thompson's statement⁹ that "with the year 1642 ends the Puritan attack on the stage" is of course essentially correct; yet it should not be forgotten that pamphleteers frequently "rubbed it in" on the players¹⁰ during the period when the theaters were closed, and that at least one minister felt called upon to print three sermons against the evils of stage plays—a violent denunciation printed at Oxford in 1653 with the following title-page:

"Tragi-Comaedia, Being a Brief Relation of the Strange, and Wonderfull hand of God discovered at Witney, in the *Comedy* Acted there *February* the third, where there were some *Slaine*, many *Hurt*, with severall other *Remarkable* Passages. Together with what was Preached in three Sermons on that occasion from *Rom. 1. 18.* Both which May serve as some Check to the growing Atheisme of the Present Age. By John Rowe of C. C. C. in Oxford, Lecturer in the Towne of Witney." The sermons themselves are of little interest, but preceding them are a four-page preface, in which the author urges the people of Witney not to "quarrell with the Almighty" for selecting their town "as the publick Thea-

⁹ *Controversy between Puritans and Stage*, p. 186.

¹⁰ Cf., for example, *Pigges Corantoe or Newes from the North* (1642), where the writer states that "pimps, players & panders are absolutely broke," and intend to be honest during the war. The same tract asserts that it is reported that the preparation for war on the part of the Cavaliers is merely jest, since "all players stay behind, and instead of Souldiers there go babes and sucklings." In the same year *The Scots Scouts Discoveries* remarks that in London he met many gamblers and "some players and Poets, but all out of employment."

ter whereon he would manifest his holynesse," and "A Brief Narrative of The Play Acted at Witney the third of February 1652." Rowe's work is fairly well known to students of the stage, but his "Briefe Narrative" is so interesting in itself and throws so much light upon human nature and the early manner of presenting certain theatricals, as well as upon the native English fondness for drama which survived in spite of Cromwell and his legislation, that I am emboldened to reprint it here from the copy in the British Museum, in spite of certain rules about unity and proportion:

"It may not seem so proper, nor be so pleasing to every Reader, to set down all the Circumstances about this *Play*, forasmuch that somewhat might be said touching the rise and originall of it, the nature of the *Play* it self, and the book from whence it was taken, the motives, grounds, and ends of the Actors, concerning all which I might speak more then here shall be inserted, having taken some paines to satisfie my selfe in those particulars. But I thought it meet to insist on those things, which did most discover the hand of God in so eminent and remarkable a Providence, and lightly touch on other things, so far as they may give light to that which is the name. This *Play* was an old *Play*, and had been Acted by some of *Santon-Harcourt* men many years since. The title of it is, *A most pleasant Comedy of Mucedorus the Kings Sonne of Valentia, and Amadine the Kings Daughter of Aragon: with the merry conceits of Mouse, &c.* The Actors of the *Play* were Countrey men; most of them, and for any thing I can heare, all of *Stanton-Harcourt* Parish. The punctuall time of their first Learning the *Play*, cannot be certainly set downe; but this we have been told, they had been learning it ever since *Michaelmas*, and had been Acting privately every week. This we are informed upon more certain grounds, that they began to Act it in a more publike manner about *Christmas*, and Acted it three or foure times in their own Parish, they Acted it likewise in severall neibowring Parishes, as *Moore, Stanlake, South-Leigh, Cumner*. The last place that they came at was *Witny*, where it pleased the Lord to discover his displeasure, against such wicked and ungodly *Playes* by an eminent hand. Some few days before the *Play* was to be Acted, one of *Stanton* came to the *Baylife* of *Witney* telling him that there were some Countrey men that had learn'd to make a *Play*, and desired his Leave to shew it, his aime

being (as the *Baylife* conceiv'd) that they might have the Liberty of the *Towne-Hall*. Leave also was desired of the other *Baylife*, but they being denied by both the *Bayliffs*, they pitched on the *White Hart*, a chiefe inne of the Towne to Act their *Play* there. The day when it was Acted, was the third of *February*, the same day when many Godly people, Townesmen and Schollars of *Oxford*, kept a Solemne Day of *Fast* at *Carfax*. About seaven a Clock at Night they caused a Drum to beat, and a Trumpet to be sounded to gather the People together. The people flocked in great multitudes, Men, Women, and Children, to the number (as is guess'd) of three Hundred, some say foure hundred, and the Chamber where the *Play* was acted being full, others in the Yard pressed sorely to get in. The people which were in the Roome were exceeding Joviall, and merry before the *Play* began, Young men and Maides dancing together, and so merry and frolick were many of the Spectators, that the Players could hardly get Liberty that they themselves might Act, but at last a little Liberty being obtained, the *Play* it self began. In the beginning of it Enters a Person that took the name of *Comedie*, and speaks as follows.

*Why so thue doe I hope to please;
Musick revives, and Mirth is tolerable.
Comedie play thy part, and please:
Make merry them that come to joy with thee.*

With two or three verses more.

Upon this enters Envy, another person, & speaks as follows:

*Nay stay Minion stay there lyes a block;
What all on Mirth? I'le interrupt your tale,
And miw your Musick with a Tragick end.*

Upon which *Comedie* replys. *Envy* makes answer againe in severall verses, and among the rest these:

*Hearken thou shalt heare noyse
Shall fill the ayre with shrilling sound,
And thunder Musick to the Gods above.*

Three verses after it followes,

*In this brave Musick Envy takes delight
Where I may see them wallow in their bloud,
To spurne at Armes & Leggs quite shivered off,
And heare the cryes of many thousand slaine.*

After this *Comedie* speaks, *Envy* replies

*Treble death shall crosse thee with dispight,
And make thee mourn where most thou joyest,
Turning thy mirth into a deadly dole,
Whirling thy pleasures with a peale of death,
And drench thy methods in a Sea of bloud.*

Which passages, if the Reader carry along with him, he will see how farre they were made good by the Divine hand, both on the Actors and Spectators. The matter of the *Play* is scurrilous, impious, blasphemous in severall passages. One passage of it hath such a bitter Taunt against all *Godly persons* under the name *Puritans*, and at *Religion* it selfe, under the phrase of *observing Fasting days*, that it may not be omitted, it was almost in the beginning of the *Play*, and they were some of the Clownes words when he first began to Act, *Well Ile see my Father hang'd before Ile serve his Horse any more, well Ile carry home my bottle of Hay and for once make my Fathers Horse turne Puritan, and observe Fasting dayes, for he gets not a bitt.* How remarkable was this that some of them that were called *Puritans* in the dayes of old, had spent that very day in *Oxford* in Fasting, and Prayer; and that the Lord by so eminent an hand should testifie against such, who were not only scoffers at *Godly persons*, but at *Religion* it selfe. Another passage was of so horrid an aspect, as that the Actor who was to speak it durst not vent it without a change. The verses as they are Printed are these.

*Ah, Bremono, Bremono, what a foyle hadst thou,
that yet at no time was afraid
To dare the greatest Gods to fight with thee*

At the end of which verses it followeth, *He strikes*: and probable enough it is, that he used some action at that time; but the words were so gastly, and had such a face of impiety in them, that he durst not say *Gods*, but (as one that excused him would have us believe) he said *Gobs*. And indeed so insolent were these, and other expressions in the *Play*, that some of the Spectators thought they were not fit to be used, and when they heard them, wished themselves out of the roome. We might instance in some other passages, but there hath been enough already. The modest, and ingenuous reader would blush to read some passages. Thus had they continued their sport for an hour, and halfe, as some of the Spectators say,

but as is more probable, about two houres, for they were ordinarily three houres in acting it (as the Players say) and there were above two parts in three of the play that were passed over in this Action. At which time it pleased God to put a stop to their mirth, and by an immediate hand of his owne, in causing the chamber to sink, and fall under them, to put an end to this ungodly Play before it was thought, or intended by them.

The Actors who were now in action were *Bremo a wild Man*, (courting, and solliciting his Lady, and among other things, begging a *Kiss* in this verse.

Come Kisse me (Sweet) for all my favours past)

And *Amadine* the Kings daughter (as named in the Play) but in truth a young man attired in a womans Habit. The words which were then Speaking, were these, the words of *Bremo* to his Lady

*Thou shalt be fed with Quailes and Partridges,
With Black-birds, Larkes, Thrushes, and Nightingales.*

Various reports there have been concerning the words spoken at that time, as that it should be sayed, *the Devill was now come to act his part*: some of the People might say so, observing the *wild mans* carriage, and some other passages that went before, where there was mention made of the Divell in a Bares dublet, the *wild man* then acting the *Bares* part: and indeed we have it upon good information that there were such words spoken; only they were the *spectators* words, and not the *Actors*: but this we are assured of, the words then spoken by the *Actors* were those above mentioned, as *he himselfe* acknowledged, and we find them printed so in the Book.

The *Place* wherein the *Play* was acted, was not a *Stage* erected on purpose, but a *Chamber* belonging to the *Inne*, a large Chamber, and which sometimes had been a Malting roome, having a part of it covered with earth to that purpose. It had two Beames to support it, of which one Sc; the shorter was a great, *soūd* & substantiall one, & lay between the two side walls; the other had one end shooting into the middle of the shorter beame, and the other end of it fastned in the wall, of which you may see a description.

[A rough sketch in original is omitted.]

The fall was not very quick, but somewhat slow, & gentle, in so much that soe that were present thought it was a part of the play,

(but it proved the saddest part) & expected whē they should be taken up again, yet was it not so slowe as that they were able to recover themselves, for the actors then in action fell down, and a great number of people with them into the under roome, which was a *Shuffle-board-roome*, and the table its selfe broken in peeces by the fall of the Timber. The Chamber did not fall down quite, but lay somewhat pendulous, and hanging, broad at the top, and narrowe at the bottome, that end of the long beame, which lay in the short falling down, the other end not falling, & the ends of the short Beame where it brake hanging down, the bottome where the people lay was of a very narrow compasse, the people falling as it were into a Pit; & such were the apprehensions of some of the Spectators, seeing the Chamber sink in that manner as if the *Earth was opening, and swallowing them up*. After the Crack of the beame which was exceeding great, and the fall of the Chamber (in the manner as is before described) all was quiet, and still, and a kind of silence for a pretty space of time, the people being astonied, and bereft of their senses. One that was present was so much affrighted (as was said) that she thought her selfe verily to be in Hell, which we do the rather insert because whoever shall put the circumstances together may well say it was a little resemblance of that black, and dismall place, there being so many taken in the midst of their sinfull practices, and thrust into a pit together where they were left in darkness, the *Lights* being put out by the fall, where the dust that was raised made a kind of Mist and Smoake, where there were the most lamentable skreekes, and outcryes, that may be imagined; where they were shut up as in a prison, and could not get themselves out, (the doore of the under roome being blocked up, and their leg's being so pinioned, & wedged together by faggots, and other things, that fell down together with them from the upper roome, that they could not stirre to help themselves). Another (as is said) suposing his limbs to be all plucked asunder cried out, *that they should cut off his head*: this is certaine, the fright was exceeding great, and many were dead for a time that afterward came to themselves. When the people were come to themselves, there was a fearfull, and most lamentable cry, sōe crying one thing, sōe another, some crying *aid for the Lords sake*, others crying *Lord have mercy on us*, *Christ have mercy on us*, others cried out oh my Husband! a second, or my Wife! a third Oh my child!

and another said, No body loves *me* so well as to see where my child is. Others cryed out for Ladders, and Hatchets to make their passage out, for the chamber falling, the doore of the under roome was so Blocked up that they could not get out there, so that they were fain to break the barres of the window, and most of the people got out that way though it were a good space of time before they could get forth. The other Players that were not in action were in the Attiring-roome which was joyning to the Chamber that fell, and they helped to save some of the people which were neer that part. Those of the people that fell not down, but were preserved by that meanes got out at the window of the upper roome. There were five slaine outright, whereof three were Boys, two of which being about seaven, or eight years old or thereabout; the other neer twelve; the other two were Girls, the elder of which being fourteen, or fiveteen, and the younger twelve, or thirteen yeares old. A woman also had her legg sorely broken that the surgeons were forced to cut it off, and she dyed within three or foure dayes after it was cut off. Many were hurt, and sorely bruised, to the number of about threescore, that we have certain information of, besides those that conceale their greifes, and some of the Contry of which there were diverse present, it being market day when the Play was acted.

The Surgeon that dressed the wounded people, told me that the next day after this was done he was counting with himselfe how many he had dressed, and as neere as he could reckon he had dressed about fortie five, and twelve after that as he had supposed, and two or three after he had cut off the womans legg. Which therefore I thought good to insert that the reader may know upon what grounds he may take this relation.

Some others were dressed by others in the town the just number of which I have not learn't. But it is generally conceaved that there were divers did receive hurt which would not suffer it to be knowen. Among those that were hurt there were about a dozen broken armes, and leggs, and some two or three dislocations, as we were likewise informed by the Surgeon. Some of the people came out with bloody faces, neither could it be otherwise, they having trod one upon another in a most sad, and lamentable manner. Certain it is there was much hurt done that way; the children that were killed, being stifled as was supposed. The man in womans

apparrell lay panting for breath, and had it not been for *Bremo* his fellow Actor, he had been stifled; but *Bremo* having recovered himselfe a little, bare up the others head with his arme, whereby he got some breath, and so was preserved; but both the one, and the other were hurt; *Bremo* being so sorely bruised, as that he was fain to keep his bed for two dayes after, and the Lady had her beauty mar'd, her face being swoln by the hurt taken in the fall. Some had their mouths so stuf'd with dust that they could hardly speak, the people that came from the house made a pittifull moane, some going in the streets and complaining, here is a Play, a sad Play indeed, others crying out to them that met them, (as they are wont that have received some deadly wound) oh I am kil'd! Some cryed out that their armes were broken, others that their Leggs were broken, some cursed the Players that ever they came to *Witny*, and the players themselves wished that they had never come thither. They that received no hurt were exceedingly affrighted, insomuch that one of them that were present, as I am credibly informed, did say, that he would not, for as much as *Witny* was worth, be in the like affright again, though he were sure he should have no hurt. Others said that they would never goe to a play more, and that it was a judgment. Others have been so prophane, as we hear, to make a laughing-stock of it, and some so desperate, as to say, they would go againe, if it were tomorrow next; and too many apt to say it was but a chance, a misfortune, the beame was weak, there were so many load of people there, and the like. But how sleight so ever the matter was made afterwards, sure enough it is, it was sad enough then. It was one of the saddest, and blackest nights that ever came on *Witny*. Sad it was to see Parents carry home their Children dead in their armes, sad it was to see so many bruised, hurt, and maimed, and some, as it were, halfe dead that were not able to help themselves, but were fain to be carryed away by their friends, some on their backs, some on chaires, sad it was to hear the piteous cryes of those that were not there bemoaning their distressed friends. This was the sad end of this ungodly play. And what was spoken in jest in the beginning of it, by the just hand of God, was made good in earnest. The Comedy being turned into a Tragedy, it had a sad *Catastrophe*, ending with the deaths of some, and hurts of many. And as it was said before

And make thee mourn where most thou joy'st

So by the just hand of God came it to passe. For in the midst of their mirth, and jollity did this fall out, in the midst of these amorous passages between *Bremo*, and his Lady was this stroke given; yea, immediately before they expected the greatest pleasure, and contentment. For the Actors said the best of the play was still behind, and a little after the hearts, and fancies of the Spectators were to be filled with love-complements between *Mucedorus*, and his *Amadine*. So true was that

Turning thy mirth into a deadly Dole.

The Lord from heaven, having given a check to such wanton sports, teaching men what they must look for, and that he will not bear with such grosse open profaness in such an age of light as this is. That he will so farre take notice of the Atheisme, and profaneness of men in this world, as shall keep the world in order, though he hath reserved the great, and full recompence for another day, and place."

Thompson, after discussing the closing of the theaters in 1642, remarks (p. 184) that it "must not be supposed, however, that play lovers were to give up their amusement, and authors their livelihood, without protest"; but in what follows this remark he does not stress sufficiently the efforts made by the champions of the drama to keep alive an interest in the theater, and their persistent endeavor to arouse popular sentiment against the narrowness and oppression of Cromwell's party.

This opposition to Puritan dominance assumed various forms. On several occasions the actors petitioned Parliament for permission to perform.¹¹ In spite of repeated Puritan legislation, they gave their entertainments more frequently than is usually supposed.¹² Playwrights continued to produce dramas, some of them

¹¹ Of. the satirical poem *The Players Petition* (1643), *The Actors Remonstrance* (1643), *Certaine Propositions* (Hazlitt, *Drama and Stage*, Introd., p. xi), the petition of ca. 1650, by "diverse poor and distressed men" (Gildersleeve, *Gov. Regulation*, pp. 227-28).

¹² On subject of plays acted during Commonwealth see Gildersleeve, *Gov. Regulation*, pp. 215 ff.; Collier *Annals* (ed. 1831), II, 106-119; Ward, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, III, 277 ff.; *Biographia Dramatica* (1812), *passim*; Adams, *Shaks. Playhouses*, pp. 290, 291, 304-6, 363, 366; Doran, *Their Majesties Servants* (1864), I, 580. Several performances not mentioned in the works above are referred to in the following pages of the present paper.

for reasons other than a love for art. Old plays were reprinted with amazing rapidity, some of them, as we shall see later, for a very good reason. Champions of the drama lost no opportunity, apparently, of commending their favorite pastime and ridiculing those who had closed the playhouses. D'Avenant's work in behalf of the theater is too well known for discussion here. The usual attitude toward his efforts is fairly well expressed in Thomas Pecke's *Parnassi Puerperium* (1659):

"That Ben, whose Head, deserv'd the Roscian Bayes;
Was the first gave the Name of Works, to Playes.
You his Corrivall, in this Waspish Age;
Are more than *Atlas*, to the fainting stage.
Your *Bonus Genius*, you this way display;
And to delight us, is your Opera."

Deserving of citation along with D'Avenant in this connection is Richard Flecknoe, who, writing of himself in the preface to his *Erminia* (1661), asserted that the author "may say without vanity that none knows more of the English Stage than he, nor any seen more of the Latine, French, Spanish and Italian." Such conceit naturally aroused the hostility of his contemporaries; and in consequence of the ridicule of Dryden, Flecknoe's significance in the history of the drama has not been sufficiently emphasized by modern scholars. Perhaps envious of the work of D'Avenant, Flecknoe may have believed that credit due himself for his labors in the cause of drama had been given to a man whose work he himself had anticipated. As the following facts will reveal, Flecknoe probably had some ground for such a belief.

In the first place, he was apparently well received in influential circles; and we may be sure that he never lost an opportunity to speak well about a subject concerning which he confessed knowing as much as any other living person. Again, in his extremely sensible "Discourse on Languages," printed in *Miscellania* (1653), he argues with great force that the English language has been greatly enriched by means of the stage, "the mint that daily coynes new words." The suppressing of the theaters, he argues, will "not only *retard* the perfectioning of our Language towards which it was advancing amain, but even quite hinder and *recoyle* it, and make it return to its former Barbarisme"; and in defending the stage he makes the interesting claim that "the Gentry of our

Nation were as much civiliz'd by the Stage, as either by *Travail*, or the *University*, in beholding the abridgment there of the best Fashions, Language, and Behaviour of the Time." In the same work he printed *A Whimzey written from beyond Seas, about the end of the year, 52*, a light and humorous work which nevertheless is a rather effective protest against the Puritan bigotry which closed the Blackfriars Theater.

Flecknoe did more than write passages such as those above. Like D'Avenant, he undertook the bringing about the actual performance of his works. In 1654 was printed his *Loves Dominion*, a dramatic piece submitted as a pattern for the "reformed Stage." In his "Preface to the Reader," he laments the depths to which drama has fallen, but emphasizes the value of the stage and points out that the pulpit should be reformed no less than the theater. It is significant that he dedicates his play to Lady Elizabeth Claypole, Cromwell's favorite daughter, who frequently interceded with her father in behalf of persons of another party. And she was apparently liberal minded in other respects, for in 1650 Cromwell wrote that he was afraid of her "being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company, which I doubt she is subject to." To this most likely agent in advancing his cause Flecknoe writes as follows: "For the rest, I dare not Interest you in its more publique Representation, not knowing how the palat of the Time may relish such Things yet, which, till it was disgusted with them, was formerly numbered amongst its Chiefest Dainties, and is so much longed for still, by all the nobler and better sort, as could it but be effected by your meditation, you should infinitely oblige them all." Whether this plea was to any extent successful I do not know, but in view of certain statements that Flecknoe later makes it possibly was.¹³ In this connection should also be mentioned Flecknoe's *The Marriage of Oceanus and Britannia*, an "Allegorical Fiction, really declaring England's riches, glory, and puissance by sea. To be represented in music, dances, and proper scenes" (1659).¹⁴ I have not been able to consult a copy of this production, which seems to be similar to the "operas" of D'Avenant

¹³ The play had been written as early as 1650, in which year it was acted at Bersell, near Brussels, under the title of *Loves Kingdome* (cf. Collier, *Rarest Books in English Language*, II, 24).

¹⁴ Cf. *Biog. Dramatica* (1812), III, 22.

and which may possibly have been acted some time before its publication.

Flecknoe's statement that the presentation of plays is being "much longed for still by all the nobler and better sort" is a very significant one. It is also significant that some of "the better and nobler sort" did not hesitate to express in one way or another their attitude toward the stage. James Shirley, who no doubt felt that by so doing he was contributing his bit to the cause, published in 1653 "six new playes"; and in the well known preface to the 1647 edition of Beaumont and Fletcher paid a beautiful tribute to the drama. Dr. Richard Whitlock in *ZWOTOMIA* (1654) has an essay titled "Profane Inspirations Plea or Poetry's Preheminence," in which he declares that whereas he has no desire to enter the "Lists with any *Histriomastix* to maintain the *Stages Quarrell*," he is sure that the "Dramatick part of Poetry" is inferior to none for usefulness. "Nor is it such a *Paradox* as it may seem," he continues, "to sound to some half-witted Eares; for I dare aver what hath been writ for the *Stage* (*ancient*, or *modern*) is not inferior to any writings on the same *Theme* (excepting the *Advantages of Christianity*, and our better *Schoolmaster for Heaven*) of never so severe an *Authority*" (pp. 472-73). In 1655 Sir Ralph Freeman reprinted his youthful *Imperiale*, primarily, he says, to anticipate a surreptitious copy; but it is significant that in the preface he quotes several passages from Aristotle, Plutarch, and others, in favor of dramas, introducing them with the remark: "And therefore to manifest how Antiquity hath valu'd this kinde of Argument, I have prefixed some testimonies, that the rigid men of our age, who will be ready to say, I have been to idly busi'd, may see what use the Graecians and Romans made of Tragaedy to prevaile upon the affections of the people." As is well known, the debate between Diogenes and Aristophanes in D'Avenant's *The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland House* (1656) is a plea for the stage, for "publick Entertainments" and "Moral Representations," while the epilogue is a hint to the audience to insist upon such performances. F. Cole in his commendatory poem prefixed to George Gerbier D'Ouvilly's *The False Favourite Disgrac'd* (1657) begins:

"Dramatick Poems, though the zealous Age
Will not permit them to *Adorn the Stage*)

Are without doubt of greater Excellence
 Then *they* suppose, who *want* both Wit and Sense.
 They are the *Crowne of Vertue, Scourge of sin;*
 Some *scape a Sermon*, whom a *Play might win.*
 Crimes of *pridigious bulk* and *purple dye,*
 Are here *dissected* and expos'd to th' eye;
 To make them *hated too*, as well as *known*
 Few will a *Branded Malefactor own.*"

In the same year James Howell in his *Londinopolis*, after referring to the time when "there were more theaters in *London* than any where else," writes pretty much as Flecknoe had written several years before: "And it was a true observation, that those comical, and tragical Histories, did much improve, and enrich the *English* Language, they taught young men witty Complements, and how to carry their Bodies in a handsome posture: Add hereunto that they instructed them in the stories of divers things, which being so lively represented to the eye, made firmer impression in the memory. Lastly, They reclaimed many from Vice and Vanity; for though a Comedy be never so wanton, yet it ends with vertue, and the punishment of vice."

In 1658, William Cartwright, whose four dramas had been printed in the 1651 edition of his works, published Heywood's *Apology* under the title *An Actor's Vindication*. In the same year Leonard Willan prefixed to his *Orgula, or the Fatal Error* his very pedantic and philosophical "*Preface*, discovering the true nature of *Poesie*, with the proper Use and Intention of such publique Divertisements." Plays, he argues, should be encouraged because they teach good morals and manners, enlighten and amuse the unlearned multitude, give the spectators brought together an opportunity to improve themselves by intercourse with their fellows, and afford an excellent means of instructing youth. This last advantage, he adds, is one that has been generally recognized by numerous seminaries, societies, and schools on the Continent.

If the friends of the stage did not hesitate to express themselves on the virtues of drama, they showed even less hesitancy in expressing themselves regarding the enemies of drama. *A Key to the Cabinet of the Parliament* (1648) contains a rather vicious gibe at the fanatics who closed the theaters;¹⁵ the interesting "Prologue to the Gentry," which accompanies the daring *Famous Tragedy of*

¹⁵ Cf. Collier, *Annals of Stage* (1831), II, 107 note.

King Charles I (1649) is as outspoken as the drama itself in denouncing "the monsters of the times" who razed the playhouses and who "lap bloud as milke and glory"; J. S., in the address to the reader prefixed to his *Prince of Priggs Revels* (1651) states¹⁶ that the works of "incomparable Johnson, excellent Shakespear, and elegant Fletcher" aim always to magnify virtue and "depress vice," however vituperated they may be by "some streight-laced brethren not capable of their sublimity." In their poems prefixed to "Five New Playes" by Richard Brome (1653), Ashton Cockayne and Alexander Brome lash the "precise ignorance" of the time and predict a speedy return to reason, when authority will recognize that

"to the being of a happy State,
Pleasure and Profit must Incorporate."

In the dedication of his *Extravagant Shepherd* (1654) to Mrs. Joanna Thornhill, T. R. writes: "Such is his Innocency that in this habit he might, without Gaule to the Spectators, have enter'd the Theater (had not the Guilty Ones of this Age, broken that Mirrour lest they should there behold their own horrible Shapes represented)." And finally, William Chamberlayne published his *Loves Victory* (1658) to be read while "the mourning Stage was silent" and inveighs against an ignorant age when

"in a cell
The scholar stews his catholic brains for food."¹⁷

There is abundant evidence to show that the dramatic form was frequently employed as a means of justifying "the good old cause" and satirizing those who had put down the playhouses. It is possible, for example, that T. B.'s *The Rebellion of Naples*, published in the eventful year 1649, was intended to convey a definite lesson to the England of the time, in spite of his statement in the preface that, contrary to what many will believe, he has no intention of meddling with "notable and remarkable passages of State." It is possible, too, that *The Hectors, or the False Challenge* (1656) was intended to throw light on persons of the time other than the hectors. And finally, it is entirely possible that Leonard Willan's

¹⁶ J. S., it should be pointed out, is no more complimentary to the actors than he is to the Puritans.

¹⁷ Cf. Ward, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, III, 289.

Orgula was published in 1658, not only for its preface justifying the drama, but also because it contains a vivid presentation of the crimes of the Lord Protector Sinevero, a presentation which would at least suggest to the reader the career of Cromwell.

We are on safer ground in dealing with other plays and "dramatic tracts" of the time. Cosmo Manuche's *The Loyal Lovers* (1652), although the scene is laid in Amsterdam, is an obvious glorification of the Royalists and a satire of Hugh Peters and his sort. About ¹⁸ 1647 Robert Baron composed his *Mirza. A Tragedie Really acted in Persia, in the last Age*. Genest remarks ¹⁹ that Allegbeg is perhaps Cromwell. That the drama was regarded as one touching upon the politics of the day is proved by Henry Bold's poem ²⁰ "to R. B. Esq., having read his *Mirza*," which begins:

"Thy scene was *Persia*, but too like our own,
Only our Soffie has not got the *Crown*."

An extremely bitter satire against Cromwell, Hugh Peters, and other members of their party is the drama with the following self-explanatory title-page ²¹: "The Famous Tragedy of King Charles I. Basely Butchered by those who are,

*Omne nefas proni patare pudorisinanes
Crudeles, violenti, Importuniques, tyranni
Mendaces, falsi, perversi, per fidiosi
Faedifragi, falsis verbis infunda loquentes.*

In Which is Included, The severall Combinations and machinations that brought that incomparable Prince to the Block, the over-

²² The dedication to the king would seem to indicate that the play was printed not later than 1648. The copy of the play in the Library of Congress has "1647" written on the title-page as the date of publication. But note in this connection that in Moseley's catalogue of books appended to the play James Howell's *A German Diet*, Thomas Blunt's *Academy of Eloquence*, and Richard Whitlock's *ZWOTOMIA* are listed among the books printed "this Terme for me." Howell's work was printed in 1653, Blunt's in 1653 or early in 1654, Whitlock's in 1654. Among the "Bookes I do purpose to print very speedily" are Thomas Washburne's *Divine Poems* (1654) and Howell's *Parthenopoeia*, the second part of which is to be carried down "to these present Times 1654."

¹⁹ *Some Account of Eng. Stage*, x, 121.

²⁰ *Poems* (Ed. 1664), p. 196.

²¹ Quoted from copy of work in Malone Collection in Bodleian Library.

tures hapning at the famous Siege of *Colchester*, the Tragicall falls of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle*, the just reward of the Leveller *Rainsborough*, *Hamilton* and *Bailies* Treacheries, In delivering the late *Scottish* Army into the hands of *Cromwell*, and the designe the Rebels have to destroy the Royal Posterity. Printed in the Yeare 1649." Equally bold in its denunciation is Samuel Sheppard's *The Committee Man Curried* (1647), a comedy "presented to the view of all men" and "discovering the corruption of Committee-men and Excise-men, the unjust sufferings of the Royall Party, the divellish hypocrisie of some Round-heads, the revolt for gaine of some Ministers." *The Levellers Levell'd, or The Independents' Consipracy to root out Monarchy* (1647), by Mercurius Pragmaticus (i. e., Marchmont Nedham) is an open satire of Hugh Peters and his faction.²² Similar to Nedham's dramatic tract are such productions as *Craftie Cromwell* (1648)²³, *Kentish Fayre*²⁴ (1648), *New Market Fayre*²⁵ (1649), and *Shuffling, Cutting and Dealing in a Game of Piquet* (1659).²⁶ Tatham's *The Rump* (pr. 1660) was no doubt composed before the Restoration and was in all probability acted very soon after Monk had broken up Parliament early in February 1659/60. His *Scots Figgaries, or a Knot of Knaves* (1652) is an open attack on the enemies of the Royalists.

In conclusion, it may be said that friends of the theater not only composed dramatic productions specifically to fit the times, but also published old plays "written long since," which were especially applicable to conditions during the years 1642-1660, or lent themselves peculiarly to the spreading of Royalist propaganda amongst the readers who were accustomed to compare the *dramatis personae* and situations of drama to the persons and events of their generation. The point may be illustrated by a few examples. It is of course impossible to say to what extent the flooding of the market with reprints of old plays after the Civil War is traceable to any such motive. In 1649 William Peaps printed his *Love in its Extasie*, a kind of Royall Pastorall written long since." In his address to the reader he states that "did the Stage enjoy its former lustre, this would have lien still neglected and forgotten: but since those pastimes are denied us wherein we saw the soule and genius of all

²² Cf. *Biog. Dramatica* (1812), III, 369; Genest, I, 16.

²³ *Biog. Dramatica*, II, 41.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 355.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 80.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 268.

the world lye contracted in the little compasse of an English Theater, I have thought fit amidst a number of more serious pieces to venture this in publicke." "You may be confident," he continues, "there lyes no Treason in it nor State invective, (The common issues of the present age)," etc. The production, he assures the reader, is "inoffensive all, soft as the milkie dayes it was written in"; yet the absurdly extravagant manner in which the play advocates the Divine Rights of Kings is sufficient reason why he should have chosen 1649 as the year for its publication. Jasper Mayne's *The Amorous Warre*, says one edition, was "long since written." It had apparently been printed in 1648, and may have been written considerably earlier. It was reprinted in 1658 and 1659. As Ward²⁷ has noted, the conduct of Kind Archidamus probably was intended as a compliment to the conjugal virtues of Charles I; and it should also be noted that the play (V: 3) contains a disrespectful reference to "Democraticke Jhon," "Rowland," and "preaching Nol." The vicious satire of the Puritans in Thomas Randolph's *Hey for Honesty*, probably originally composed about 1642, would explain why F. J. saw fit to augment and print it in 1651. The arrest of the rogue-players and Justice Clack's insistence on detecting the satire against "Justice" in the play within the play of Brome's *Jovial Crew* is one reason why the old drama, acted originally in 1641, should have been printed in 1651. Similarly the appearance of Barbarby as a Puritan in T. B.'s *The Country Girl* would help to explain why that production was printed in 1647. Crowley's *Guardian*, first acted at Cambridge in 1641 "and several times after privately during the troubles," was printed in 1650 with an exceptionally defiant prologue and considerable satire of the Puritans. John Tatham's *The Distracted State*, written in 1641, was printed ten years later, no doubt because it is a drama with a purpose. The publication, in 1659, of Walter Montague's *The Shepheard's Paradise*—the drama that got Prynne into trouble—was evidently not entirely due to T. D.'s admiration for the author. It may be mentioned here that possibly even the setting out of the 1647 edition of Beaumont and Fletcher was due to other motives besides admiration. In his prefatory poem prefixed to the work J. M. states that the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher never contained libels against the Church or State. May not this fact,

²⁷ *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, III, 141.

together with the dramatists' strong advocacy of the divine rights of kings, help to explain why in 1647 a group of Royalists eager to do their bit should have put before the public the complete works of these "high-flying, passive-obedient Tories"?

Other instances of the sort of thing discussed above could be cited, but these are sufficient for the purpose of illustration. And the evidence already presented is, I believe, sufficient to show that the lovers of drama, with a doggedness characteristic of their race, never gave up the struggle against "the tyranny of zeal." In one sense of the word, D'Avenant was by no means the only "Atlas to the fainting stage"

III

In spite of the fact that such recent scholars as Whibley²⁸ and Nettleton²⁹ have pointed out that Jeremy Collier was addressing a "public inured to his argument," we are still being assured that the author of *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* struck the first blow against the indecency of the Restoration theater.³⁰ Whibley and Nettleton have called attention to various protests against the immorality of the stage: John Evelyn's various comments, Robert Wolseley's preface to *Valentinian* (1685), Sir Richard Blackmore's discussions in his *Essays* and his preface to *Prince Arthur*, and Joseph Wright's extended criticism in the *Country Conversations* (1694). That Collier's contemporaries also realized that he was doing no new thing in attacking the evil tendency of the drama is shown by the remarks of one who lent his aid to Collier. In a reply to an assertion in *The Defence of Dramatick Poetry* (1698) to the effect that Collier's book was the "first Pulpit or Press-Sermon on that Text," the author of *The Stage Condemn'd* (1698) proceeds to refute the charge by quoting Wesley's Reformation Sermon, preached in St. James Church, Westminster, and afterwards at St. Bride's. Wesley, he says, is "none of the most contemptible of our Poets, himself, and is no enemy to the Stage, but only aims at its Reformation. Yet its plaine, his Charge is as heavy against the English Stage, as that of Mr. Collier: though he is for making use of the Pruning Hook and not of the Ax" (pp. 76-79). On page 90 he quotes a half

²⁸ *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VIII, 185-86.

²⁹ *Eng. Drama of Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, 141-42.

³⁰ Cf., for example, Watt's *Theatrical Bristol* (1915), p. 18.

page from chapter XIX of Dr. Thomas Bray's *Short Discourse upon the Doctrines of our Baptismal Covenant* (1697), in which Christians are warned against breaking their "Baptismal Vow and Covenant" by attending plays. On pages 91-94 he quotes from Sir Richard Blackmore's preface to *Prince Arthur*; and on page 79 quotes the passage against drama in the 1690 edition of Dr. Horneck's *Sirenes, or Delight and Judgement*.

As a matter of fact, there is every reason to believe that just as the lovers of the stage kept up the fight for the drama during the years of the Commonwealth, so the Puritan element continued the fight after the Restoration. If this was not the case, what especial motive was there for publishing in 1662, and again in 1670, Sir Richard Baker's *Theatrum Redivivum*, an extremely effective reply, composed before ³¹ 1642, to the Puritan arguments? Or what especial point would there have been in 1690 to D'Urfey's having the Puritan visit the playhouse in the fourth canto of his burlesque poem *Collin's Walk through London and Westminster*? Again, unless protests against the drama were being made, what would explain the tone of Dryden's preface to his *Tyrannic Love* ³² (1669) and his allusions to the "holy critics" who had accused him of "profaneness and irreligion"? Or unless certain people were still moralizing about the accidental destruction of playhouses, as they had moralized about the burning of the Globe or the catastrophes at Paris Garden and Witny, why should Dryden have inserted the following lines in his prologue "Spoken the First Day of the King's House Acting after the Fire":

"You cherished it, and now its fall you mourn,
Which blind unmannered zealots make their scorn,
Who think that fire a judgment on the stage,
Which spared not temples in its furious rage."

At any rate, there is extant at least one severe stricture on the drama published very soon after the Restoration, a passage which, on account of its rarity and nature, deserves quotation. In his *Essays and Characters* (1661), L. G., as John Stephens ³³ and the au-

³¹ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Review*, July, 1915, pp. 377-78.

³² For other prefaces showing that the morality of Restoration Drama was being attacked see Bernbaum's *Drama of Sensibility*, p. 80, note 2.

³³ Note I. Cocke's reply to the "detractor," printed in the 1631 edition of Stephens' essays and characters together with Stephens' explanation

thor of *The Rich Cabinet* had done before him, wrote a not very complimentary character of "A Player." An actor, says L. G., "is an Artificial fool, that gets his living by making himself ridiculous; he hath lickt up the Vomit of some drunken Poet & (like a jugler) casts it up again before a thousand Spectators. He is the ignorant mans Wonder, the rich mans Jester, and the Devils Factor, that by a strange delusion sends men laughing to hell.

"Yet I confess that Comedies (if not prophane nor lascivicious), may be sometimes lawful recreations for great Persons, whose melancholy heads are daily troubled with weightie Affaires; But unto incontinent Youth (those Martyrs of Lust, and uncleanness), they are but as Oyle to their flames, and as bags of gun-powder tied under their Armes.

"Hence it was that Heroic *Sidney* upon his Death-bed condemned that rare Monument of his matchless wit, his *Arcadia* to be burned, fearing perhaps least it should burn others: *Romances* and *Playes*, are dangerous Edge-Tooles, which unwarie Readers must not meddle with: They are hot burning Irons, which Chaste Ladies like the Empresse *Kunnigund* may safely handle without hurt, whilst other goe away with burned—and seared consciences." (pp. 54-56).

It is a well-known fact that others besides the Puritan element resented the corrupt nature of the Restoration stage. Evelyn gave up going to the theater on this account. Chief Justice Hale, who in his younger days had been an enthusiastic play-goer, gave up the practice and wrote to his son to "go not to stage-plays" as a means of recreation.³⁴ In 1670 Richard Flecknoe, who in his *Loves Dominion* (1654) had lamented the immorality of the stage and had sought to remedy it, published the following bitter denunciation in his epigram "In your scurrilous and obscene Dramatick Poets":

"Shame and disgrace o' th' Actors and the Age,
Poet more fit for th' Brothel than the Stage!
Who makes thy Muse a Strumpet, and she thee
Bawd to her lust, and so you well agree."³⁵

that his original production was not intended to insult the respectable actor, but was directed only at the "common" player.

³⁴ Cf. Owen's *The Conduct of the Stage* (1721), p. 27.

³⁵ Quoted by Anton Lohr (*Richard Flecknoe*, p. 98) from *Epigrams of all Sorts* (1670).

In another epigram in the same collection he bids farewell to the stage, giving as his reason for doing so the corruption of the theater; and in 1673 he published an essay "Of Poetry and its Abuse," in which he describes the obscenity of the time in no gentle language.³⁶

In giving his satirical recipe for the making of drama, Tutor in Arrowsmith's *Reformation, A Comedy* (1673) advises his listeners, provided they wish to please the gallants especially, to "reflect upon religion and the Clergy."³⁷

In 1672 Richard Tuke, apparently with some such motive as prompted Flecknoe to print his *Love's Dominion* as a "pattern for the Reformed Stage," published his morality play *The Divine Comedian Or the Right Use of Plays*, or, as the title-page of the first edition reads, *The Souls Warfare Comically digested into Scenes, Acted betweene the Soul and her Enemies, Wherein She cometh off Victrix with an Angelical Plaudit*. Perhaps worth mentioning here is William Johns's "moral interlude" *The Traytor to Himself; or, Man's Heart his Greatest Enemy* (1678), a production written to be presented by school boys and with no female characters, because the writer did not consider it proper for boys to act such parts.³⁸ Other objections to the immorality of the stage which precede Collier's attack are Bishop Tillotson's frequently quoted³⁹ words, Langbaine's protest against the scurrility of Thomas Duffet's *Mock Tempest* and *Psyche Debauch'd*⁴⁰ and Robert Gould's *The Play-house* (1689). Gould's poem is not only an attack on Dryden, Shadwell, and others, but is a bitter denunciation of the corrupt state of the theater—a Gosson-like account of the vice practiced by gallants and whores, actors and actresses. Various passages similar to those cited above are no doubt familiar to students who are intimately acquainted with the literature of the Restoration.

Trinity College, N. C.

³⁶ Lohr, p. 103.

³⁷ Quoted by Chase in *Eng. Heroic Play*, pp. 229-30.

³⁸ Cf. Langbaine, *Account Eng. Dram. Poets*, p. 553; *Biog. Dramatica*, III, 349.

³⁹ Cf. for example, *Some Thoughts concerning the Stage in a Letter to a Lady* (1704), p. 9; Dr. Owen's *Conduct of Stage Consider'd* (1721), p. 28.

⁴⁰ *Account Eng. Dram. Poets* (1691), pp. 177-178.

MYSTICISM IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON

Milton's undisguised scorn of the "libidinous and ignorant poetasters" of his generation may seem at first only another instance of his unbending attitude toward the lighter pleasures of the world.¹ Other poets, however, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries condemn the exclusive absorption of sonneteers and pastoralists in themes of love, and offer as an offset their earnest pleas for sacred verse. For example, Robert Southwell, in the preface of *Saint Peter's Complaint* written eight years before the death of Elizabeth, accused poets of "abusing their talent, and making the follies and faynings of loue the customarie subiect of their base endeuours." Apparently, these amorists temporarily crowded all others from the field; for Nicholas Breton, in issuing *The Mothers Blessing*, complained, "that matter of good worth, either morall, or diuine, if it bee handled in verse, it is almost as ill as vertue; it will not sell almost for any thing." Yet only a few years later, George Herbert published *The Church Porch* with greater assurance, convinced that

A verse may finde him who a sermon flies,
And turn delight into a sacrifice.

Nor was his confidence in the appeal of sacred poetry misplaced. Before the close of the century other poets had voiced the sentiment of Herbert's sonnet beginning:

My God, where is that antient heat towards thee
Wherewith whole shoals of Martyrs once did burn,
Besides their other flames? Doth Poetry
Wear Venus' livery, only serve her turn?
Why are not Sonnets made of thee, and layes
Upon thine Altar burnt? Cannot thy love
Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
As well as any she?

¹ *Ch. Gov.*, 2, p. 480.

The popularity of sacred poetry throughout the seventeenth century was by no means a literary fashion. To be sure, Edmund Spenser, who exerted a dominant influence on the writers of the century succeeding, had lived to regret the "two Hymnes in the praise of love and beauty" composed "in the greener times of my youth," and had offered as atonement two corresponding hymns on heavenly love and beauty. Sir Philip Sidney's influence, too, wherever the *Apology* was known, operated in the same direction. Furthermore, the usage of French poets somewhat later encouraged Cowley and his contemporaries to handle Biblical story. Thus there came to be something of a vogue for sacred poetry. But its wide dissemination can not be attributed to fashion alone. The truly significant work of Vaughan, Traherne, Crashaw, Norris, Drummond, and many others came in response to the growing seriousness of the nation's temperament. Naturally, during the long and bitter conflict between the factions of the church, men's minds were chiefly engrossed in religious questions, and many poets turned from erotic songs to dedicate their talents to the church.

Much of this sacred writing lies altogether outside the province of mysticism, unless the term be employed so vaguely as to be quite meaningless. Much more of it, also, can not be classed as literature, but must be left to theology, controversy, or practical ethics. If the significance of the word, mysticism, however, be not unwarrantably restricted, a considerable body of the finest literature of the seventeenth century falls within its field. Bacon's prose essays and Herrick's charming songs would be the most notable exceptions. In the fourteenth century mysticism had risen to its highest level of power. Mechthild, Meister Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, Ruysbrock, Dante, St. Catherine of Sienna, Richard Rolle of Hampole, Walter Hilton, and Julian of Norwich all lived in that period. Their teaching in the vernacular determined to a great extent the thought of later generations. Hence in the seventeenth century, when English minds were deeply stirred by Christian theology, the undercurrent of mysticism came strongly to the surface, even though the English temperament has never been apt in abstract speculation, and though formal mysticism has not thriven naturally on English soil.

The etymologist might use the word mysticism, which is derived from a root signifying *close*, of "any secret language or ritual

which is understood only by the initiated"; or understand by the term the shutting of all ordinary channels of sensory impressions, so that the mystic becomes an "enclosed, self-withdrawn, introverted man."² But philosophers have commonly applied the word to a faith in "the internal manifestation of the Divine to the intuition or in the feeling of the secluded soul." Or, according to another definition, mysticism is "in its essence, a concentration of all the soul's energies upon a supernatural Object, conceived of and loved as a living personality."³ This coincides with Dean Inge's idea that mysticism has its origin in a dim consciousness of the beyond, and is really an "attempt to realize the presence of the living God in the soul and in nature." He specifies as the foundation stones of such faith these four convictions: the soul as well as the eye can see and perceive; man in order to know God, must partake of his nature; without holiness no man can see God; and love is the sure guide on the upward path.⁴ These various stipulations together describe a temperament or habit of mind that is familiar enough to readers of seventeenth-century English literature. Even if one agree with Miss Underhill that "more than the apprehension of God, then, more than the passion for the Absolute, is needed to make a mystic," these men of letters would still be included in her interpretation; for she continues: "These must be combined with an appropriate psychological make-up, with a nature capable of extraordinary concentration, an exalted moral emotion, a nervous organization of the artistic type."⁵

Although the English temperament has never been entirely sympathetic toward formal, strictly speculative, mysticism on the one hand, or its extreme sectarian manifestations on the other, many English poets have satisfied these broader requirements. In the heat of religious controversy a reaction developed against dogmatism and formalism in belief and worship. Heart-weariness, too, like Lord Falkland's oppressed many finer natures. And the natural desire of man to know more of life than earthly experience reveals, was intensified by the crisis through which the nation was passing. To the more artistic, susceptible temperament the world appeared

² R. A. Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, 1, pp. 17-21.

³ P. Berger, *William Blake*, p. 72.

⁴ W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, pp. 5-8.

⁵ *Mysticism*, p. 108.

suffused with heavenly light, and men, actuated by spiritual ideals, made the search for God the engrossing business of their lives.

A plain evidence of this mystical strain in English character is revealed by the experiences of children in the seventeenth century. In *Grace Abounding* John Bunyan placed on record his early sins of orchard-robbing, violation of the Fourth Commandment, and profanity. Clearly he had felt them most keenly in youth or they would not have given this morbid tinge to his mature consciousness. Even more acute were the religious sensibilities of Nicholas Ferrar. He was the son of a wealthy London merchant. At the age of six he was already thoroughly familiar with Hebrew history and had learned the Psalms by heart. One night, unable to sleep, he rose and walked into the garden. Throwing himself face downward on the ground, he cried: "Yes, there is, there must be a God: and he, no question, if I duly and earnestly seek it of him, will teach me not only how to know, but how to serve him acceptably. He will be with me all my life here, and at the end of it will make me happy hereafter." ⁶ Such emotion in childhood seems to us almost impossible; but Thomas Traherne told of a still more abnormal psychological experience. "Once I remember (I think I was about four years old) when I thus reasoned with myself. Sitting in a little obscure room in my father's poor house: If there be a God certainly He must be Infinite in Goodness, and that I was prompted to, by a real whispering instinct of nature. And if He be Infinite in Goodness and a perfect Being in Wisdom and Love, certainly He must do most glorious things and give us infinite riches; how comes it to pass, therefore, that I am so poor?" ⁷

This "whispering instinct of nature" that Traherne mentioned, describes the very essence of mysticism; it is the reception of divine truth through hidden, spiritual channels. To search for it in the Bible as Milton did in compiling *Christian Doctrine* or to trust, as Hooker did, in Christian institutions, is not mysticism. The mystic takes usually an extremely individualistic point of view, like that of Herbert in the *Temple* or of Bunyan in *Pilgrim's Progress*. He turns his gaze inward, in the belief that the spirit of God is

⁶ F. Turner, *Brief Memoirs*, pp. 5-6.

⁷ *Meditations*, 2, 16.

within one, and that only an attentive heart is needed for a sensing of the truth.

Bunyan, Ferrar, and Traherne, whose experiences have just been cited, were all imbued with deeply religious instincts. The same strain, nevertheless, occasionally rose to the surface in writers so unspiritual as James Howell. Not simply to exhibit his facility of expression, but to convey as well a real experience to his readers, that interesting adventurer wrote to one of his friends: ^a

So having got into a close field, I cast my face upword, and fell to consider what a rare prerogative the optic virtue of the Eye hath, much more the *intuitive* virtue in the Thought, that the one in a moment can reach Heaven, and the other go beyond it. . . . What then should we think of the magnitude of the Creator himself. Doubtless, 'tis beyond the reach of any human imagination to conceive it: In my private devotions I presume to compare Him to a great Mountain of Light, and my soul seems to discern some glorious Form therein; but suddenly as she would fix her eyes upon the Object, her sight is presently dazzled and disgregated with the refulgency and coruscations thereof.

Life, one suspects, in the seventeenth century had been set in part to a new key. The court, be it granted, was more corrupt than it had been. Hence it is not false to stress the difference between the new type of courtier and the old, between knights such as Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir John Suckling on the one hand, and Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Raleigh, on the other. But the great bulk of the people in the later generation was at heart religious. Although it was in many ways an intensely practical age, even in their daily affairs men were governed by spiritual motives. Through all the active life and thinking of the time, the spiritual and the worldly operate together, as they do, for example, in those strange camp-letters of Sergeant Nehemiah Wharton. Many men lived through such an experience as Mrs. Browning's:

When I, who thought to sink,
Was caught up into love and taught the whole
Of life in a new rhythm.^b

And lessons so learned when the spiritual nature was set to this new rhythm were carried through in the humdrum duties of ordinary life; for in Matthew Arnold's words,

^a *Familiar Letters*, 2, 50.

^b *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, 7.

Tasks in hours of insight will'd
Can be through hours of gloom fulfill'd.¹⁰

The experience has been by no means uncommon, especially among poets, who have risen most readily from what Eucken calls the natural to the spiritual level.¹¹ On that level, man perceives through new channels, and perhaps is only understood by those who feel with him.

The difference between these two grades of experience has been well stated by Eucken and Bergson, but it would be better to let some of the old mystical writers present it in their own defence. The fact in question is quaintly recognized in the passage of the *Religio Medici* beginning: "Thus is Man that great and true Amphibium, whose nature is disposed to live, not onely like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds: for though there be but one to sense, there are two to reason, the one visible, the other invisible."¹² And possibly the ablest defence of this reading of life is presented by John Norris. He was born in 1657 in Wiltshire and received his education at Winchester and Oxford. Then in 1691 he took the parish at Bemerton, where holy George Herbert had closed his career in 1633. In that quiet spot, Norris preached and studied and wrote, until in 1711 he died, "having exhausted his strength by intense application and long habits of severe reasoning." On the south side of the little church a tablet marks the grave of the "Recluse of Bemerton."

John Norris recognized the difference between man's perceptive faculties on the lower and higher levels of existence. His poem, *The Discouragement*, reads in part:

Thought I, for anything I know,
What we have stamp'd for science here,
Does only the appearance of it wear,
And will not pass above, tho current here below;
Perhaps they've other rules to reason by,
And what's truth here, with them's absurdity.
We truth by a refracted ray
View, like the sun at ebb of day;
Whom the gross, treacherous atmosphere,
Makes where it is not, to appear.

¹⁰ *Morality*.

¹¹ See E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, pp. 36, 40.

¹² *Religio Medici*, l. 34.

In order to justify his belief that man's greatest good is nearness to this higher sphere of life, Norris wrote again in *On a Musician*:

Poor dull mistake of low mortality,
To call that madness which is ecstasy.
'Tis no disorder of the brain,
His soul is only set t'an higher strain.
Out-soar he does the sphere of common sense,
Rais'd to diviner excellence;
But when at highest pitch, his soul out-flies,
Not reason's bounds, but those of vulgar eyes.

This is the mystic's best defence. He rises above the changing, temporal world to another by purely inner motive forces, and, although others may judge him abnormal or even mad, he realizes that he differs from them only in the possession of a truer sanity, a farther vision, than theirs.

Because English poetry has been colored at all times by mystical feeling, the poets of the seventeenth century had necessarily their forerunners in the sixteenth. It was mysticism of the Platonic sort that Spenser, especially in *The Fowre Hymnes*, brought into literature. But Spenser, like Milton, was too eclectic, too comprehensive, to be classed simply as a mystic. Of the early poets the Catholic martyr, Robert Southwell, would be more adequately described by that term.

Southwell was born in 1560 or 1561 and suffered death because of his faith in 1595. Knowing the imprisonment and tortures that he was forced to undergo, a reader finds an especial poignancy in some of his lyrics. Many other Elizabethans had written on the variability of Fortune and the futility of worldly ambition; but what Southwell wrote in confinement comes to us fraught with deeper than ordinary feeling. His condition there was "deplorable and full of fears and dangers"; others, his friends whom he mentions in the letter to his father, had already suffered "such cruel usages . . . as can scarce be believed." But as he fortified himself to "suffer anything that can come, how hard soever it may be," he realized that "life is but loss" and eased his heart in the lyric:

By force I live, in will I wish to dye,
In playnte I passe the length of lingring dayes;
Free would my soule from mortall body flye,
And tredd the track of death's desyrèd waies:

Life is but losse where death is deemèd gaine,
And loathèd pleasures breed displeasinge payne.

The first significant feature of Southwell's poems is the stress that they place on the inner life to the disregard of the outer—the true mystic's point of view. "Not where I breath, but where I love, I live," he declared in one poem, and in another he returned to the same thought in the lines:

Who lives in love, loves lest to live,
And longe delayes doth rue,
If Him he love by Whome he lives,
To Whome all love is dewe.
.
Mourne, therefore, no true lover's death,
Life onely him annoyes;
And when he taketh leave of life,
Then love beginns his joyes.

Viewing the world in this way, Southwell, even in his distress, experienced true inward happiness:

My conscience is my crowne,
Contented thoughts my rest;
My hart is happy in it selfe,
My blisse is in my breste.¹⁸

Thus Southwell schooled himself to overlook confinement and torture, which were mere accidents of his bodily existence, and to think simply of his spiritual state, of which alone he could boast full control.

On this matter Southwell reflects very plainly the influence of Plato. To them both this world with its seeming reality is merely the shadow of the stable, ideal world, and nowhere here on earth can one find more than imperfect copies of the true beauty, love, justice, and honor that exist elsewhere. One of the most thoughtful of the poems that develop the contrast between the earthly and the ideal reality is *Looke Home*:

Retyrèd thoughtes enjoy their own delightes,
As beauty doth in self-behoulding eye;
Man's mynde a mirrhour is of heavenly sightes,
A breife wherein all marveylls summèd lye,
Of fayrest formes and sweetest shapes the store,
Most gracefull all, yet thought may grace them more.

¹⁸ See *I Dye Alive*, *Life's Death*, *Love's Life*, and *Content and Ritche*.

The mynde a creature is, yet can create,
 To Nature's paterns adding higher skill;
 Of fynest workes witt better could the state
 If force of witt had equall poure of will;
 Devise of man in working hath no ende;
 What thought can thinke an other thought can mende.

Man's soule of endles bewtye's image is,
 Drawen by the worke of endles skill and might;
 This skillfull might gave many sparkes of blisse,
 And to discerne this blisse a native light;
 To frame God's image as His worthes requir'd,
 His might, His skill, His worde and will conspir'd.

All that he had His image should present,
 All that it should present he could afforde,
 To that he coulde afforde his will was bente,
 His will was followed with performinge worde;
 Lett this suffice, by this conceave the rest,
 He should, he could, he would, he did the best.

Few of Southwell's poems are so charged with thought as is this. It contains not only the Platonic concept of an ideal world, of which this is but an imperfect copy, but also Southwell's faith in the "native light" of the soul and the creative force of the mind and his confident optimism. Of these ideas Coleridge's exposition of the "esemplastic principle," "the shaping spirit of imagination," and Leibnitz's doctrine that this is the best possible world, are but enlargements.

The usual conclusion, however, of Southwell's reasoning is that man's chief happiness lies in his ability to rise to this perfect state. He cries in one lyric:

Fayre soule! how long shall veyles thy graces shroud?
 How long shall this exile withhold thy right?
 When will thy sunn disperse this mortall cloude,
 And give thy glories scope to blaze their light?
 O that a starr, more fitt for angells' eyes,
 Should pyne in earth, not shyne above the skyes! ^u

And in another poem Southwell attempts to show the reasonableness of his position:

Misdeeming Eye! that stoopest to the lure
 Of mortall worthes, not worth so worthy love;

^u*At Home in Heaven.*

All beautye's base, all graces are impure,
That do thy erring thoughtes from God remove.
Sparkes to the fire, the beames yeld to the sunne,
All grace to God, from Whome all graces runne.

If picture move, more should the paterne please;
No shadow can with shadowed thinge compare,
And fayrest shapes, whereon our loves do ceaze,
But sely signes of God's high beautyes are.
Go, sterving sense, feede thou on earthly maste;
Trew love, in heaven seeke thou thy sweete repast.¹⁵

But in addition to this more common reflection of the Dialogues, Southwell's thought embraces much Neo-Platonism. Its almost inevitable tendency to pantheism, for example, is reflected in the phrase "God present is at once in every place." Yet this belief in the essential unity of creation, all being but an emanation from God, does not lessen Southwell's sense of man's individuality, or God's; for "One soule in man is all in everye part," and "God in every place is ever one."¹⁶

Seldom, however, do the English poets lose themselves in the speculations of the Christian Platonists. The reader, then, is not puzzled, as he is in reading Ficino, Bruno, or Boehme, with strange terms and difficult abstractions. The task set the reader of these poets is to look on life as they depict it and see nothing incongruous in their forms of expression. For example, in addressing the wound in Christ's side in this concrete way,

O pleasant port! O place of rest!
O royal rift! O worthy wound!
Come harbour me, a weary guest,
That in the world no ease have found,

Southwell may seem to materialize his purely spiritual emotion. But the finding in everything visible and tangible a sacrament of spiritual life is an ever-present trait of mysticism, which often brings into sacred verse the appearance of materialism and irreverence. The reader has to perceive, as the author does, what lies beyond the symbols used to express the emotion. If this be done, such a poem as *The Burning Babe*, possibly Southwell's finest, can be appreciated for its simplicity, its power, its vision.

¹⁵ *Lewd Love is Losse.*

¹⁶ *Of the Blessed Sacrament.*

As I in hoary Winter's night stood shivering in the snowe,
 Surpris'd I was with sodayne heat, which made my hart to glowe;
 And liftinge upp a fearefull eye to vewe what fire was nere,
 A prety Babe all burninge bright, did in the ayre appeare,
 Who scorched with excessive heate, such floodes of teares did shedd,
 As though His floodes should quench His flames which with His teares
 were fedd;

Alas! quoth He, but newly borne, in fiery heates I frye,
 Yet none approach to warme their hartes or feele my fire but I!
 My faultles brest the fornace is, the fuell woundinge thornes,
 Love is the fire, and sighes the smoke, the ashes shame and scornes;
 The fuell Justice layeth on, and Mercy blowes the coales,
 The mettall in this fornace wrought are men's defiled soules,
 For which, as nowe on fire I am, to worke them to their good,
 So will I melt into a bath to washe them in My bloode:
 With this He vanisht out of sight, and swiftly shroncke awaye,
 And straight I called unto mynde that it was Christmas-daye.

In all these respects the poems of Southwell represent Platonism as it was adapted to the Christian belief by early churchmen and transmuted by the art of modern poets. For the Christian philosopher Platonism would signify, "an unshaken confidence in the ultimate validity of ideas, with a tendency to suspect the data of the senses, and to insist on the unreality of the phenomenal."¹⁷ A Platonist, consequently, would believe that, transcending the reach of sensory experience and reason, there is a mystic, spiritual way of apprehending ultimate truth. He would find in the *Dialogues*, likewise, confirmation of his belief in the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, and would accept, as kindred teaching, the idea of an unchanging, intelligible world above this world of shadows, and would stress the need of focussing our aspirations on that other world. Such were the lessons that Plotinus for the philosophers and Augustine for the churchmen learned from Plato.

The influence of Plato during the seventeenth century made itself felt in English scholarship chiefly at Cambridge, and in English poetry mainly through the writings of Edmund Spenser. At Cambridge Neo-Platonism found the soil best adapted to its growth, Spenser, himself a student of Pembroke Hall, wove together in *The Fowre Hymnes* and the first book especially of the *Faerie Queene* the fundamental teachings of the Socratic dialogues. Then from Spenser, who exerted the most potent single influence on the poets

¹⁷ P. H. Wicksteed, *Dante and Aquinas*, p. 25.

of the next century, the influence of Plato was handed down to Southwell, Drummond, Milton, and their contemporaries.

Bearing this in mind one appreciates the historical position of the work done in his secluded home by William Drummond of Hawthornden. The opening sonnet of *Flowres of Sion*, after exhibiting "the instability of mortall glorie," concludes with the lines:

Wherefore (my Minde) above Time, Motion, Place,
Thee raise, and Steppes, not reach'd by Nature trace.

The fourth sonnet, likewise, which Professor Kastner has traced to Petrarch employs these comparisons to expose the unreality of this life:

The wearie Mariner so fast not flies
An howling Tempest, Harbour to attaine,
Nor Sheepheard hastes, when frayes of Wolves arise,
So fast to Fold to save his bleeting Traine:
As I (wing'd with Contempt and just Disdaine)
Now flie the World, and what it most doth prize,
And Sanctuarie seeke, free to remaine
From wounds of abject Times, and Envies eyes.

In the same key another sonnet was written:

Why (worldlings) do ye trust fraile honours dreams?
And leane to guilted Glories which decay?

and in another Drummond makes this resolve:

Hencefoorth on Thee (mine onelie Good) I thinke,
For onelie Thou canst grant what I doe crave.¹⁸

The same ideas recur again and again in the poetry of Drummond's age. Nicholas Breton, for instance, feeling the unreality of the phenomenal world, turned to the ideal:

In Nature's beautie, all the best can be
Are shadowing colours to deceiue the eye:
But in this beautie may our spirits see
A light wherein we live, and cannot die.¹⁹

This light, of course, is God, and God, whom he identifies with Love, is the source of all things. Breton's own words are:

¹⁸ *Sonnets*, 20, 5.

¹⁹ *Solus in toto laudandus Deus*.

And this is God, and this same God is Love;
For God and Love, in Charitie are one,

and

One onely light that shewes one onely Love:
One onely Love, and that is God above.

Assuredly, much of this poetry is imitative and uninspired. A reader is apt to remember only the first line of George Daniel's effort that begins:

Lord! yet How dull am I?
When I would flye;
Up to the Region of thy Glories.²⁰

It frequently happens, therefore, that certain ideas of Plato are incorporated in the writings of poets who are not mystics at all. Lord Herbert, for example, never rose to anything higher than this *Meditation*:

More more our Souls then, when they go from hence,
And back unto the Elements dispense,
All that built up our frail and earthly frame
Shall through each pore and passage make their breach,
Till they with all their faculties do reach
Unto that place from whence at first they came.
.
And therefore I who do not live and move
By outward sense so much as faith and love,
Which is not in inferior Creatures found,
May unto some immortal state pretend,
Since by these wings I hitherto may ascend
Where faithful loving Souls with joys are crown'd.²¹

Yet no one would be impelled by even these verses to count the Quixotic knight of the Autobiography among the mystics. Even his brother, George Herbert, had little if any mysticism in his temperament. His poems show an unfaltering sense of the nearness of God; mind and heart alike are wholly preoccupied with thoughts of him. In certain of his poems, furthermore, Herbert accepts the teachings of Plato. Of these pieces, the most obvious is the sonnet beginning, "Immortal Love, author of this great frame." Yet never in the *Temple* is there a vision as clear as Vaughan's

²⁰ Ed. A. B. Grosart, p. 13.

²¹ See too *The Idea*.

I saw eternity the other night
Like a great Ring of pure and endless light,
All calm, as it was bright,

or,

I see them walking in an Air of glory,
Whose light doth trample on my days:
My days, which are at best but dull and hoary,
Meer glimering and decays.

Something more, then, than an occasional acceptance of Plato's thought is needed to make a mystic.

No one of these poets represents all sides of Plato's varied genius so well as Spenser.²² Like Plato, Spenser was endowed with both a highly spiritual and a richly sensuous temperament, so that he enjoyed to the fullest the beauty of the visible world and the impulse of the spiritual life. Both men had a marked gift for allegorical narrative, and each valued literature chiefly for its moral or ethical import. Not any of the lesser poets following Spenser was deep and broad enough in mental grasp to embrace all this; for even Milton could not harmonize all these diverse elements. Among late Elizabethan poets, then, we must look for Platonism in one or another of its partial manifestations.

One of Drummond's most interesting poems, *An Hymn of the Fairest Fair*, contains in addition to its strict Platonism a good deal that Christian mystics had taught of God and the world. The poet conceives God, to whom his aspirations rise, as the great creator, who in his love called forth into existence all things that are.

I Feele my Bosome glow with wontlesse Fires,
Rais'd from the vulgar prease my Mind aspires
(Wing'd with high Thoghts) vnto his praise to clime,
From deepe Eternitie who call'd foorth Time;
That Essence which not-mou'd makes each thing moue,
Vncreat'd Beautie all-creating Loue;
But by so great an object, radient light,
My Heart appall'd, enfeebled restes my Sight,
Thicke Cloudes benighte my labouring Ingine,
And at my high attempts my Wits repine.

Through these clouds, despite his thwarted faculties, the poet sees God on his throne:

²² L. Winstanley, *The Fowre Hymnes* and J. S. Harrison, *Platonism in English Poetry*.

As farre beyond the starrie walles of Heaven,
 As is the loftiest of the Planets seuen
 Sequestred from this Earth, in purest light,
 Out-shining ours, as ours doth sable Night,
 Thou, All-sufficient, Omnipotent,
 Thou euer-glorious, most excellent,
 God various in Names, in Essence one,
 High art enstalled on a golden Throne,
 Out-reaching Heavens wide Vastes, the Bounds or nought,
 Transcending all the Circles of our Thought.

After this mystical vision of God, dwelling in indescribable light, far transcending all powers of thought, and boundless in his reach, Drummond attempts to define his being. He first stresses the unity of God, arguing that the Trinity, though threefold and symbolized in human life by the understanding, memory, and will, is one, as spring, well-head, and stream are one. He regards this God as the center of all life, and explains the creation according to Plotinus' doctrine of emanation. God first brought forth the "immortal Traines of Intellectuall Powr's" who attend him. They are ranged about the throne in heavenly bands, according to the hierarchic scheme of Dionysius. Beneath these heavenly hosts is the great and manifold world of nature,

The Organes of thy Prouidence diuine,
 Bookes euer open, Signes that clearlie shine.²⁸

Then human life finds its place. Originally, man stood above nature, until the sin in the garden displaced him; all nature served him, and angels passed freely from heaven to earth. Over this vast creation, spiritual and material, God rules in perfect unity. Yet Drummond sees his spirit everywhere;

Whole and entire all in thy Selfe thou art,
 All-where diffus'd, yet of this all no part,
 For infinite, in making this faire Frame,
 (Great without quantitie) in all thou 'came,
 And filling all, how can thy State admit,
 Or Place or Substance to be voide of it?

²⁸Cf. Dionysius the Areopagite: "All things have emanated from God, and the end of all is return to God," and "The degree of real existence possessed by any being is the amount of God in that being." From Vaughan, I, pp. 113-115. The orders assigned by Dionysius to the heavenly hosts are fully explained by the seventeenth-century poet and playwright, Thomas Heywood, in *The Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*.

So also are all times present to him ;

All Times to thee are one, that which hath runne,
And that which is not brought yet by the Sunne,
To thee are present, who dost alwayes see
In present act, what past is or to bee.

This entire conception is in harmony with the teaching of the mystics. One is not surprised, then, to find the poem closing with their sense of the incomprehensibility of God.

O King, whose Greatnesse none can comprehend,
Whose boundlesse Goodnesse doth to all extend,
Light of all Beautie, Ocean without ground,
That standing flowest, giuing dost abound,
Rich palace, and Indweller euer blest,
Neuer not working euer yet in Rest;
What wit cannot conceiue, words say of Thee,
Heere where as in a Mirrour wee but see,
Shadowes of shadowes, Atomes of thy Might,
Still owlie eyed when staring on thy Light,
Grant that released from this earthly Iaile,
And freed of Clouds which heere our Knowledge vaile,
In Heauens high Temples, where thy Praises ring,
I may in sweeter Notes heare Angels sing.

In perfect keeping with this great poem is Drummond's solemn, awe-inspired meditation in prose on death. Many of the thoughts of *A Cypresse Grove* came to the author from foreign sources, Montaigne's *Essais*, Charron's *De la Sagesse*, and Ringhiere's *Dialoghi della vita et della morte*.²⁴ But the stately movement of the prose and the rich coloring, are Drummond's own. He had brooded in quiet on this question of life and death until his thoughts, whatever their sources may have been, belonged to him. The world is beautiful, he sees, and the body serves the needs of the soul ; but, for all that, it is no fearful thing to die. "My Soule, what aileth thee," he cries, "to bee thus backward and astonished, at the remembrance of Death, sith it doth not reach Thee, more than Darknesse doth those farre-shining Lampes above?" Death merely permits man, like a storm-tossed mariner, to "stricke Saile and joyfullie enter the leas of a save Harbour."²⁵ Even savages have had "some roving guesses at Ages to come, and a Glow-worme

²⁴ See notes to Professor Kastner's edition.

²⁵ II, pp. 89-90.

light of another life." Drummond's own vision of that other life is finely expressed at the close: "Then shall there bee an end without an end, Time shall finish, and Place shall bee altered, Motion yeelding vnto Rest, and another World of an Age eternall and vnchangeable shall arise."

Thus the English sacred poets, true Platonists that they were, habitually contrasted the unreality of this world with the reality of the other. No one of them was more deeply imbued with this feeling than Henry Vaughan, the Welsh physician. Riding along the rustic roads on his professional errands, he was keenly alive to all the beauties of nature, especially the stars, God's "hosts of spies." But he looked on these natural objects only as symbols of a higher beauty, "whose meaner showes and outward utensils these glories are."²⁶ Such a temperament may have been in the mind of John Norris when he wrote: "How happy is the Man that can do so! that can Conduct and Govern his Steps by the bright Views of the other world and not by the dim appearances of this."²⁷

Lovers of Wordsworth, therefore, have always taken a peculiar interest in Vaughan. The great romantic poet was oppressed with the idea that "the world is too much with us." Owing to exactly the same distrust of the business of life, Vaughan long before had written:

The world
Is full of voices; Man is call'd, and hurl'd
By each; he answers all,
Knows ev'ry note, and call,
Hence, still
Fresh dotage tempts, or old usurps his will.²⁸

Vaughan's prayer then is:

Come and releive,
And tame, and keepe downe with thy light
Dust that would rise and dimme my sight!
Lest left alone too long
Amidst the noise and throng,
Oppressed I,
Striving to save the whole, by parcels dye.

Or again, his mind still running in grooves that Wordsworth's followed, he petitions for

²⁶ *Midnight*, p. 36, *Retirement*, p. 92.

²⁷ *A Discourse of Walking by Faith*, p. 134.

²⁸ *Distraction*, p. 413.

A living Faith, a Heart of flesh,
The World an Enemy.²⁰

Yet from inanimate nature Vaughan derived many truly Wordsworthian lessons. Everything, as he understood the world, joins in praise of the Creator;

So hills and valleys into singing break,
And though poor stones have neither speech nor tongue,
While active winds and streams both run and speak,
Yet stones are deep in admiration.²⁰

Consequently in *The Starre*, Vaughan resolves:

Yet, seeing all things that subsist and be
Have their Commissions from Divinitie,
And teach us duty, I will see
What man may learn from thee.

From the lessons so learned came Vaughan's highest inspiration. One of the finest of his poems, though it was prompted by a verse of *Romans*, expresses only this fervent belief in the spirituality of all nature.

And do they so? have they a Sense
Of ought but Influence?
Can they their heads lift, and expect,
And grone too? why th' Elect,
Can do no more: my volumes sed
They were all dull, and dead;
They judg'd them senselesse and their state
Wholly Inanimate.
Go, go; Seal up thy looks,
And burn thy books!

I would I were a stone, or tree,
Or flowre by pedigree,
Or some poor high-way herb, or Spring
To flow, or bird to sing!
Then should I (tyed to one sure state,)
All day expect my date;
But I am sadly loose, and stray
A giddy blast each way.
O let me not thus range!
Thou canst not change.

This is possibly Vaughan's most usual theme. In moments when such impulse does not move him he often grows dull and clumsy

²⁰ *Day of Judgment*, p. 403.

²⁰ *The Bird*, p. 497.

in thought and expression. He is invariably weakest if mind rather than sub-conscious emotion assumes the creative rôle. But whenever the world appears radiant with this white, heavenly light, the poet's emotion quickens, and moves upward on the spiritual ladder that mystics coveted to find.

So in Vaughan's eyes the world appeared as it did to the Spanish mystic, Rose of Lima. For her the whole creation was filled with God. At sunrise she passed through her garden and invited all objects there to join her hymn of praise. The trees bowed as she passed by; the flowers swayed on their stalks and opened to the light; the birds sang and even the insects voiced their adoration.³¹ Strange as all this seems, Vaughan too had experienced it;

When in the East the Dawn doth blush,
Here cool, fresh Spirits the air brush;
Herbs (strait) get up; Flow'rs peepe and spread;
Trees whisper praise, and bow the head.
Birds from the shades of night releast
Look round about, then quit the neast,
And with united gladness sing
The glory of the morning's King.
The Hermit hears, and with meek voice
Offers his own up, and their Joys;
Then prays, that all the world may be
Blest with as sweet an unity.³²

Another poet-mystic, Thomas Traherne, loved nature in this same two-fold way—for its own beauty and as a symbol of the divine. That retired clergyman, though, seems never to have seen it in its proper earthly light, but always suffused with a sheen from heaven. Like Wordsworth, he had felt the shades of the "prison house" closing upon him as a growing boy, and had found himself in "a waste place covered with idleness and play, and shops, and markets, and taverns."³³ Life was only interesting as it appeared to him illuminated by his own unique personality. What this was, his own words can best reveal:

The corn was orient and immortal wheat which never should be reaped nor was ever sown. I thought it had stood from everlasting to everlasting. The dust and stones of the street were as precious as gold: the gates were

³¹ E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 313.

³² *The Bee*, p. 652.

³³ *Meditations*, 3. 14.

at first the end of the world. The green trees when I saw them first through one of the gates transported and ravished me; their sweetness and unusual beauty made my heart to leap, and almost mad with ecstasy, they were such strange and wonderful things. The Men! O what venerable and reverend creatures did the aged seem! Immortal Cherubims! And young men glittering and sparkling angels, and maids strange seraphic pieces of life and beauty! Boys and girls tumbling in the street were moving jewels; I knew not that they were born or should die.²²

Just this same shimmer of unreality plays over Traherne's poems. Looking out on the world, he asks,

Where are the silent streams,
The living waters and the glorious beams,
The sweet reviving bowers,
The shady groves, the sweet and curious flowers,
The springs and trees, the heavenly days,
The flow'ry meads, and glorious rays,
The gold and silver towers?

Here, through this strange environment, moved no real substantial human figures;

The streets were paved with golden stones,
The boys and girls were mine,
Oh how did all their lovely faces shine!
The sons of men were holy ones,
In joy and beauty they appeared to me,
And every thing which here I found,
While like an angel I did see,
Adorned the ground.²³

Such complete transformation of reality can be found in English literature only in the work of Traherne and Blake. Reality to both men was entirely subjective not objective; for they gained consciousness of the finite through the infinite, as Malbranche did. Traherne seems even to anticipate the later philosophic denial of material reality. In *The Preparative*, at least, he writes:

'Tis not the object, but the light
That maketh Heaven: 'tis a purer sight.
Felicity
Appears to none but them that purely see.

The possession of this purer sight determined Traherne's peculiar temperament, and in his verse and prose alike there runs a mystical

²² *Ibid.*, 3. 3.

²³ *Desire*, p. 120; *Wonder*, p. 5.

philosophy that resembles closely the subjective idealism of the nineteenth century.

No one of these mystical poets, in calling on man to rise to a higher spiritual existence, meant any disparagement of the world in which our lives are passed. They were Platonists, in that regard, rather than Neo-Platonists. The material world, however unreal and shadow-like it may be called, is rich in beauty, and, as a symbol of the higher life, filled with significance. This idea is the most pervading of the few threads of mystical thought that are woven into Habington's *Castara*. The same opinion of the world appears in Crashaw's highly mystical poetry. And Francis Quarles, after the ascetic's indictment,

False world, thou ly'st: thou canst not lend
The least delight,

can argue as a true Platonist that this world is fair only in comparison with another. But possibly the best example of a poet's reconciling his love for things seen with a contempt bred of a stronger love elsewhere, is found in John Norris's *Aspiration*. Looking forth from the "dark prison" in which his soul lay enchained, Norris exclaimed:

How cold this clime! and yet my sense
Perceives even here thy influence.
Even here thy strong magnetic charms I feel,
And pant and tremble like the amorous steel.
To lower good, and beauties less divine
Sometimes my erroneous needle does decline;
But yet—so strong the sympathy—
It turns, and points again to thee.

A reader who has become accustomed to the poet's way of harmonizing these two feelings will not see in the opening lines of *Comus* any indication of that disregard of nature that Milton so unjustly has been accused of showing. It would be needless to quote Milton's vision of the life

In regions mild of calm and serene air,
Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
Which men call earth.

Less commonly known is the beautiful sentiment of Vaughan at the close of *The World*:

Yet some, who all this while did weep and sing,
 And sing, and weep, soar'd up into the Ring,
 But most would use no wing.
 O fools (said I,) thus to prefer dark night
 Before true light,
 To live in grotts, and caves, and hate the day
 Because it shews the way,
 The way which from this dead and dark abode
 Leads up to God,
 A way where you might tread the Sun, and be
 More bright than he.

The same aspiration evokes the prayer:

Grant I may so
 Thy steps track here below,
 That in these Masques and shadows I may see
 Thy sacred way;
 And by those hid ascents climb to that day,
 Which breaks from thee
 Who art in all things, though invisibly.

And with these lines come to mind many other poems by Vaughan, such as the lyric

My Soul, There is a Countrie
 Afar beyond the stars;

for he had come to the belief that some men "walk to the skie even in this life." Hence, although he felt a deep joy in this world, he loved the other so much more fervently that his creed is wholly summed up in these two injunctions: "run on and reach home with the light" and "fill thy bresst with home."³⁶

Men of a more metaphysical turn of mind, like the poet's brother, Thomas Vaughan, often sought in philosophy a reason for this uprising of the soul. Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists had explained the creation of the universe as a process of emanation. Every part of the universe came forth, more or less immediately, from the creative energy of God, and each part, still moved by God's spirit, craves union with him. No other force is necessary to raise Dante in the *Paradise* swiftly through the heavens; for the soul ascends as naturally as flame rises or as water in a rivulet flows to a lower level. Milton's acceptance of at least the physical aspects of the

³⁶ See *Man, Peace, Ascension Hymn, The Resolve, and The Proffer*.

theory is revealed in *Paradise Lost*,⁸⁷ while John Norris in the Hymn on the Creation considers its spiritual significance in these lines:

We, acted by the weights of strong desire
To good without ourselves aspire,
We're always moving hence
Like lines from the circumference,
To some more inlodg'd excellence,
But He is one unmov'd self-center'd point of rest.

As a rule, however, the poets have dwelt but little on the metaphysics of the question: it was with them, as with Henry Vaughan, a feeling and not a theory—"a roving extasie to find my Saviour."⁸⁸

Of all the poets of the Jacobean age Donne would be least suspected of a mystical turn of mind. His keen, restless intellect, his constant dependence on the external features of daily life for his illustrative material, as well as his open cynicism and irreverence in the *Elegies* and *Songs*, would isolate him, necessarily it appears, from the spiritual forces of the day. This, however, was not the case. Cynicism, impudent ribaldry, realism tingle in his early verse. Yet not even Browning recognized more unqualifiedly than Donne that the life of the spirit is the matter of sole moment to man.

I wonder by my troth what thou and I
Did till we loved,

he asks, forgetful of all the soul-stirring episodes of his venturesome youth. This was not because Donne scorned or despised our bodies: rather,

We owe them thanks, because they thus,
Did us, to us, at first convay,
Yeelded their forces, sense, to us,
Nor are drosse to us, but allay.⁸⁹

But the spirit's welfare seemed of greater importance than the body's. The passion of true love, for example, can so unite two persons that they become as one;

Love, these mixt soules, doth mixe againe,
And makes both one, each this and that.

⁸⁷ *Par.*, 1; *P. L.*, 5, ll. 414-426.

⁸⁸ *The Search*.

⁸⁹ *The Extasie*, p. 52.

Once so united, a separation is impossible, whatever the accidents of life may be; for

They who one another keepe
Alive, ne'r parted bee.*

Love, in other words, is a passion of the heart that raises man above the limiting conditions of physical existence into the freedom of the spiritual world. And by mental energy even God and man are united; for God is both the ultimate end of knowledge and the source of knowledge in man. This is the meaning of the strange lines of the *Second Anniversary*:

Only who have enjoy'd
The sight of God in fulness can think it;
For it is *both the object and the wit*.

Therefore Donne could disregard material good fortune or ill fortune, seeing that

Nothing
Is worth our travaile, grieffe, or perishing,
But those rich joyes, which did possesse her heart.†

If this conviction be one of the foundation stones of Donne's poetry, the transition after all is not hard from the secular poems of his youth to the finest of his sacred verse, "At the round Earth's imagined corners blow" and "Death, be not proud."

In some notable respects Donne's habits of thought, like certain aspects of his temperament, were alien to mysticism. For example, he had sufficient trust in man's normal power to believe that "the articles of faith are discernible by reason." Upon that authority he rested his conviction "that as there is a God, that God must be worshipped according to his will, that therefore that will of God must be declared and manifested somewhere, that this is done in some permanent way, in some Scripture, which is the word of God, that this book, which we call the Bible, is, by better reason than any others can pretend, that Scripture." Trusting in such large part to reason, Donne naturally was suspicious of the mystic's dependence on direct revelation or illumination. He mentioned once, with condemnation, two classes of Pharisees, one that on the strength of its own reason separates from the church, the other that "dreams of such an union, such an identification with God

* *Song*, p. 18.

† *First Anniversary*, p. 244.

in this life, as that he understands all things, not by the benefit of the senses, and impressions in the fancy and imagination, or by discourse and ratiocination, as we poor souls do, but by immediate and continual infusions and inspirations from God himself."⁴³ On either count the mystics were open to censure; for many of them showed little regard for Christian institutions and followed largely their own spiritual guidance. Donne would not atrophy man's undisputed prerogative, reason, for such accidental gifts as these.

Several of Donne's sermons, nevertheless, prove that the crucial experience of Paul's life exerted a peculiar fascination over him. He would still insist that "man hath a natural way to come to God, by the eye, by the creature; so visible things show the invisible God." But he also believed that "God hath superinduced a supernatural way, by the ear. . . . God shut up the natural way in Saul, seeing; he struck him blind; but he opened the supernatural way, he enabled him to hear, and to hear him."⁴⁴ Early mystics had slighted the former way of seeing God, the natural, to stress the latter, the supernatural. In the *Theologia Germanica*, for example, the soul is said to have two eyes, one for this world of time and place, the other for eternity. "But these two eyes of the soul," the old churchman continues, "cannot both perform their office at once; if the soul would look with the right eye into eternity, the left eye must be shut."⁴⁵ After the Reformation, however, mysticism more often taught that the truest apprehension of God comes from the harmonious operation of all our faculties.⁴⁶ This sane and practical view prevails in Donne's sermon.

Deeply versed as he was in all theology, Donne might have given, in either prose or verse, a full statement of the mystic's faith. Its whole essence is embraced in the declaration of his *Valediction*, "All divinity is love or wonder." But Donne went no farther. Of the English authors who were naturally inclined to this view, only John Norris and the group of Cambridge Platonists, especially Henry More, were metaphysicians. Hence the task that Donne might have shouldered was left chiefly to More.

At first sight, the Cambridge Platonists would hardly be sus-

⁴³ Sermon 47, vol. 2, pp. 371-372.

⁴⁴ Sermon 44, vol. 2, p. 310.

⁴⁵ P. 201.

⁴⁶ W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 299.

pected of being mystics at all. Theirs was a compromising party in the church, midway between the dogmatism of the Calvinists, on the one hand, and the high-church tendencies of Laud, on the other.⁴⁶ Owing to a natural alignment with the Puritan temperament, they turned from the questions of ecclesiastical organization that had engrossed the attention of churchmen, to consider deeper problems, such as the nature of religion, the relation of reason to faith, and the recognizability of religious truth.⁴⁷ They regarded religion as a temper of mind in which all of man's faculties work together in coöperation. Hence they confided much to reason, which appears to be the most distinctive human faculty, and denied its seeming hostility to faith. In short, religion, as they understood it, was neither belief nor conduct, but the man himself.⁴⁸

Benjamin Whichcote, therefore, the leader of these liberal theologians, aimed to create at Cambridge "a spirit of sober piety and rational religion," and to establish the Christian belief on "some rational principle of certitude."⁴⁹ "We cannot ascend," he declared, "higher in our acting than we are in our Beings and Understanding."⁵⁰ On such a foundation religion loses its dogmatism. But Whichcote also slighted the mystical tendencies of churchmen. In his Sunday afternoon lectures he taught not only that "they do not advance Religion who draw it down to bodily acts," but also that those do not further it "who carry it up highest, into what is mystical, symbolical, emblematical." For, he asserted, the "Christian Religion is not mystical, symbolical, enigmatical, emblematical; but uncloathed, unbodied, intellectual, rational, spiritual."⁵¹ Here Whichcote, like Donne in the passage recently quoted, implies a condemnation of Catholic mysticism. One might judge him to have been altogether rationalistic. In general, however, English men of letters, even the most mystical, held a sane, practical faith like this.

Whichcote was not the only Cambridge philosopher who harmonized these apparently opposed faculties of reason and faith. John Smith, for example, placed his trust on reason as a way to God.

⁴⁶ J. Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, 1, chaps. 1, 2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, p. 10.

⁴⁸ E. T. Campagnac, *Cambridge Platonists*, p. xv.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

whereas many mystics emphasize the weakness and futility of our understanding. The Cambridge Platonists, like Donne, took the other view, in the belief that reason, as one of our God-given faculties, cannot be a stumbling block. Nathaniel Culverwell therefore said of faith and reason: "There is a twin-light springing from both, and they both spring from the same Fountain of light."⁵² Beside this may be placed John Smith's statement: "Truth needs not at any time fly from reason, there being an eternal amity between them." Hence he accepted as valid both reason and intuition. As all higher knowledge of God, Smith taught, springs, from the soul, not the senses, so there is a power within us answering to the infinite power without us. If this be true, he was convinced that "Divine truth is better understood, as it unfolds itself in the purity of men's hearts and lives, than in all those subtle niceties into which curious wits may lay it forth." In another discourse Smith ventured the opinion that, "the common notions of God and virtue impressed upon the souls of men are more clear and perspicuous than any else."⁵³ All this shows clearly that Smith, like the mystics, believed that higher knowledge comes not from the senses but from a power in the soul responsive to a higher power without us. This power in the soul is in part reason and in part an impulse that can be known only in its manifestations. Man, would he learn the truth, must use them all.

On these matters Henry More worked in perfect accord with the other Cambridge Platonists. He defined religion as "the consecration and perfection of the natural life," and believed true holiness to be "the only safe entrance into divine knowledge" and reason "in some sort to be in God himself."⁵⁴ But from boyhood More had been trained in literature as well as in theology. Writing to his father the young author said: "You deserve the Patronage of better Poems than these, . . . you having from my childhood turned mine ears to Spensers rhymes, entertaining us on winter nights, with that incomparable Peice of his, *The Fairy Queen*, a Poem as richly fraught with divine Morality as Phansy."⁵⁵ In

⁵² *Discourse of the Light of Nature*, "The Porch."

⁵³ See J. Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, 2, pp. 140, 145, 149.

⁵⁴ J. Tulloch, 2, pp. 312, 348, 354.

⁵⁵ *Philosophical Poems*, "To his dear Father," 1642.

later life, then, More combined these two interests, but is remembered less for his philosophical treatises than for his fantastical metaphysical poems, *Psychozoia*, *Psychathanasia*, and others like them.

More's poems deal primarily with the problems of speculative mysticism. He identified the three ultimate principles of Plotinus, the Good, Intellect, and Soul, with the three persons of the Trinity. In all created things he perceived the soul of the universe, since everything comes ultimately through the process of emanation from the Good. He held also that the soul is immaterial and immortal, and adduced arguments to prove its preëxistence. All these questions are argued through with the subtlety of a metaphysician.⁵⁶

But in the poetry of this fantastically learned scholar, the simpler teachings of mysticism also appear. The chief and most natural desire of the soul, which is to see God, cannot be wholly realized. Nevertheless, a partial apprehension of him is granted us through a certain divinely given inner sight;

So that its plain that some kind of insight
Of Gods own being in the soul doth dwell
Though what God is we cannot yet so plainly tell.⁵⁷

Hence the effort to describe God, More quaintly says, is like trying to recall a forgotten name—one remembers first what it is not. Yet God will reveal himself most fully to that person who "by curbing sense and the self-seeking life" will strive "to mortifie our straitned selves." Just such an approach to God through self-denial is the doctrine preached in the *Theologia Germanica* and the *De Imitatione Christi*.

Again, More follows the usual teachings of the mystics in regarding love as the motive force of creation. He felt also that duly illumined souls even in this life may "have their aboad in Christs own body" and there be "eternally one with our God."⁵⁸ These thoughts occur as well in his *Minor Poems*, where More appears rather a religious mystic than a speculative philosopher. *The Philosophers Devotion*, for example, presents the old argument,

⁵⁶ See J. S. Harrison, *Platonism in English Poetry*, pp. 170-174, 187-193.

⁵⁷ *Psychathanasia*, 2. 3, 10.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 3. 1, 30.

All things back from whence they sprong,
As the thankfull Rivers pay
What they borrowed of the Sea.

Again such simple mysticism is found in *Charitie and Humilitie*:

Farre have I clambred in my mind
But nought so great as love I find:
Deep-searching wit, mount-moving might
Are nought compar'd to that good spright.
Life of delight and soul of blisse!
Sure source of lasting happinesse!
Higher then Heaven! lower then hell
What is thy tent? where maist thou dwell!

My mansion hight humilitie
Heavens vastest capabilitie.
The further it doth downward tend
The higher up it doth ascend;
If it go down to utmost nought
It shall return with that it sought.

There is a vital difference, of course, between More's handling of these subjects and that of other poets. Wordsworth, Vaughan, and Traherne accept without question the belief in the soul's pre-existence, where More labors to expound it. Yet his ideas are the same. The soul, he argued, is "a precious drop sunk from *Æternitie*." Here on earth, though, a soul "uncenters" itself; for "a fading light we lead in deadly influence," and

Thus groping after our own Centres near
(And proper Substance, we grew dark, contract,
Swallow'd up of earthly life, ne what we were
Of old, through ignorance can we detect.

These halting lines may recall some of the finest passages of Wordsworth's *Ode*. Another such contrast may suggest itself to readers of Vaughan. In his prosy, bungling way, More compared the soul, encased in the body, to "a light fast-lock'd in lanthorn dark," through which "some weaker rayes . . . do glide," until

When we've past the perill of the way
Arriv'd at home, and laid that case aside,
The naked light how clearly doth it ray
And spread its joyfull beams as bright as Summers day.

The same analogy, which he had probably learned from Cornelius Agrippa, was in Vaughan's mind in the moment of real vision that

produced "They are all gone into the world of light"; but he handled it with the sure touch of an artist thus:

If a star were confin'd into a tomb
Her captive flames must needs burn there;
But when the hand that lockt her up, gives room,
She'l shine through all the sphare.

However devoted to Plato's doctrine this school of Cambridge philosophers may have been, their influence on the whole tended against mysticism. They were the rationalists in the church of their day, and mysticism has always discounted experience and reason as means to the highest truth. The more usual attitude, then, of the mystics toward reason is discernible in Crashaw's *Hymn of Saint Thomas*:

Down, down, proud Sense! discourses dy!
Keep close, my soul's inquiring ey!
Nor touch, nor tast, must look for more
But each sitt still in his own dore.

Your ports are all superfluous here,
Saue that which lets in Faith, the eare.
Faith is my skill: Faith can beleiue
As fast as Loue new lawes can giue.

The opposed viewpoint of the rationalists is plainly given in Samuel Butler's *Reflections upon Reason*. According to his definition, reason is "a Faculty of the Mind, whereby she puts the Notions and images of Things, with their Operations, Effects, and Circumstances, that are confused in the Understanding, into the same Order and Condition, in which they are really disposed by Nature, or Event."⁵⁹ He declares, too, that "Reason is the only Helm of the Understanding; the Imagination is but the Soul, apt to receive, and be carried away with every Wind of Vanity, unless it be steered by the former." But teaching of this sort was not common before the rise of the rationalistic philosophy of the eighteenth century.

Opposed to the cold logic of Butler are the finely colored poetic meditations of the genial old Norwich physician, Sir Thomas Browne. On all questions of science he depended strictly on observation and experiment. Thus, for example, in *Vulgar Errors*

⁵⁹ *Genuine Remains*, vol. 2.

he exposed the falsity of many an old supersition; even the quaint popular ideas regarding the anatomy of the elephant and the dead kingfisher's habits had to go. In religion, however, Browne loved to lose himself in an "O altitudo," firmly insisting that "this is no vulgar part of Faith, to believe a thing not only above but contrary to Reason, and against the Arguments of our proper Senses." Confident that "there be not impossibilities enough in Religion for an active faith," he taught, as he quaintly says, his "haggard and unreclaimed Reason to stoop unto the lure of Faith," and regretted only that he had not lived before Christ's coming, with the Jews "who upon obscure prophecies and mystical types could raise a belief, and expect apparent impossibilities."⁶⁰

Much the same was the mental attitude of John Norris. Trained as he was in metaphysics and the learning of the schools, he would be the last to condemn knowledge. Norris simply felt, as Sir Thomas Browne felt, that the mind is limited in its reach and fails to grasp the truth or even use sound laws of reason. The most that Norris can admit is:

Or grant some knowledge dwells below,
 'Tis but for some few years to stay
 Till I'm set loose from this dark house of clay,
 And in an instant I shall all things know.⁶¹

In this fashion the sacred poets of the seventeenth century, from pedestrian Quarles to the spiritual Crashaw and Vaughan, set the bounds of human knowledge. In the words of Quarles,

True, Faith and Reason are the Soule's two Eyes:
 Faith evermore lookes upward, and discries
 Objects remote; but Reason can discover
 Things onely neere; sees nothing that's above her.⁶²

Nevertheless, this craving to know more of life than experience can teach is natural in man. Hence the mystic is concerned not simply with this one great problem, the search for God, but must face another, also, the question of the validity of earthly knowledge. One is a religious problem; the other is epistemological.

In general, however, English poets have slighted this second

⁶⁰ *Religio Medici*, l. 9.

⁶¹ See above, p. 186, and *Curiosity and Against Knowledge*.

⁶² *On Faith and Reason*. See also *On Raymond Sebund*.

problem that concerns the source and validity of knowledge and have turned their attention to the religious problem, the search for God. Apparently, most of them have taken it for granted that the surest way to divine truth is through secret spiritual channels. Or, if proof be desired, man's instincts suffice to establish the reality of the spirit's power. This is Drummond's argument:

Why did wee get this high and vaste Desire,
Vnto immortal things still to aspire?
Why doth our Minde extend it beyond Time,
And to that highest Happinesse euen clime?
If wee be nought but what to Sense wee seeme."⁸³

Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, reasoned coldly in the same way:

For Knowledge is of Power's eternity,
And perfect Glory, the true image-taker;
So as what doth the infinite containe
Must be as infinite as it againe."⁸⁴

To this one might add these lines from Sir John Davies' poem on immortality:

So when we God and Angels do conceive,
And think of truth, which is eternal too;
Then do our Minds immortal Forms receive,
Which if they mortal were, they could not do."⁸⁵

The argument was so common that even a person so unmystical as Lord Herbert advanced it. "Since my coming into this world," he noted in his autobiography, "my soul hath formed or produced certain faculties which are almost as useless for this life as the above named senses were for the mother's womb." His conclusion is that "the proper objects of these faculties, therefore, though framed, or at least appearing in this world, is God only."⁸⁶

Such thinkers accepted without solution, or even failed to see, the epistemological problem confronting mysticism, and turned to a search for God. To express concretely this search, they used commonly one of three symbols, speaking of a journey whose end is the beatific vision, or of a burning love between the individual

⁸³ "It Autumn Was."

⁸⁴ *Of Humane Learning*, 3.

⁸⁵ *Nosce Teipsum*, ed. 1733, p. 80.

⁸⁶ Pp. 21-22. See too, above, p. 182.

and God, or of an inward, spiritual change that discloses the end sought in one's own heart.⁶⁷

The symbol of love was employed most powerfully in the nineteenth century by Francis Thompson in *The Hound of Heaven* and by Coventry Patmore in the *Odes*. Protestant poets of the seventeenth century adopted the imagery of love less frequently, for they, like their followers, have found it repellant. Nevertheless, Francis Quarles in his many emblems based on portions of the *Canticles* did not shrink from this symbolism. One beautiful poem, for example, expands on the text, "My beloved is mine, and I am his: he feedeth among the lillies." But this piece is exceptional for its chastened use of this questionable imagery, and elsewhere the poet oversteps the bounds of good taste. Two early Catholic writers, furthermore, made use of this symbol without hesitancy.

Love, thou art Absolute sole Lord
Of Life and Death,

Crashaw exclaims at the opening of possibly his finest poem. In another he offers himself this consolation:

Dear Soul, be strong!
Mercy will come e're long
And bring his bosome fraught with blessings,
Flowers of never-fading graces
To make immortall dressings
For worthy soules, whose wise embraces
Store up themselves for Him, Who is alone
The Spouse of virgins and the virgin's Son.⁶⁸

With the same kind of symbolism Southwell likens Christ's eyes to sweet volumes, nectared ambrys, soul-feeding meats, and quivers of love-darts.⁶⁹ To the ordinary reader such language is repulsive, even though the poet's justification is *The Song of Songs*, and Protestant writers as a rule avoided it.⁷⁰

The second symbol, a journey from this life to another, was more common in the true literature of the time. Yet even this occurs more frequently in the widely read books of piety that hardly belong to *belles lettres* at all. In these books the figure of a journey would be used because it finds justification in many

⁶⁷ E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 153.

⁶⁸ *Prayer*.

⁶⁹ *St. Peter's Complaint*.

⁷⁰ Reference, though, should be made to the work of Christopher Harvey.

Biblical phrases, and because of its nearness to daily life. Hence one finds titles like these: *The Scala Perfectionis*, *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, which was especially dear to Bunyan, *The Pilgrimage of Man*, *the Pilgrimage to Paradise*, and *The Way to the Celestial Paradise*. Infinitely higher in literary value than these forgotten books of piety is George Herbert's *The Pilgrimage*. The poet travels toward the distant hill, "where lay my expectation," past "the gloomy cave of Desperation," past "phansie's meadow," "care's cops," and "the wilde of passion." He finds on the hill, when he has scaled it, nought but "a lake of brackish waters," and realises that only death can bring him to his goal. But even this poem is dwarfed in significance before the greatest exemplar of the type, *Pilgrim's Progress*. In Bunyan's story the reader follows the steps of Christian from the City of Destruction to the City of Zion, as he passes by the brick walls and hedges along the way, toils laboriously through the sloughs, catches glimpses of distant hills or valleys, and steps aside over stiles into bypaths. These are the highways and the lanes of Puritan England, which are used to symbolize the experiences of a Christian along the pathway of life. At the end, the glorious vision of the Holy City appears, which brought true satisfaction to the mystic's desires.

Less literally than Bunyan the poets utilized the symbol of a journey. In one sense, God and the ideal world may be remote; but in another sense they are very near; for in our own hearts are found the movings of the divine spirit, and in nature, the surest glimpses of the other world.

In us, not of us, a spirit not of Earth,
Fashioning the mortall to immortal birth,

wrote Fulke Greville.⁷¹ And of the world he lived in John Norris said:

The sweets of Nature shall not stay
My soul, but only shew to thee the way;
To thee! Thou beauty's great original.⁷²

This union of the divine and the human, of the remote with the near, was made easy for the Christian through the intermediary offices held by Christ and the Holy Spirit. Accordingly, God

⁷¹ *Of Religion*, 3.

⁷² *The Invitation*.

seemed to these poets very near, immanent both in the human heart and in nature, so that only a spiritual change need be effected to reveal him here. Therefore, the symbol of a journey is often combined with the third mystical symbol, that of growth or transfiguration.

Such a combination is often found in the poems of Henry Vaughan; for no one had a greater fervor than he to seek God or a keener realization of the divine in ordinary life. *The Search*, whose very title is significant in this connection, begins:

'Tis now cleare day: I see a Rose
Bud in the bright East, and disclose
The Pilgrim-Sunne; all night have I
Spent in a roving Extasie
To find my Saviour.

In this spirit he searches, but in vain, for God. Then the inner voice of the mystics speaks to him:

Leave, leave thy gadding thoughts;
Who Pores
And spies
Still out of Doores
descries
Within them nought.

The only obvious conclusion is that God must be found here if at all. Nevertheless, the poem ends unexpectedly:

Search well another world; who studies this,
Travels in Clouds, seeks Manna, where none is.

This idea, so frequently recurring in Vaughan's poetry, is finely expressed in the words, "run on, and reach home with the light." If this seems to be an implicit acceptance of the symbol of a journey, another memorable phrase, "fill thy brest with home," suggests instead that only a spiritual transformation, and no long search, is necessary to restore the innocence of the first creation, when

Angels lay Leiger here; Each Bush and Cel,
Each Oke and high-way knew them."¹

This belief in the immanence of God can be traced alike to the New Testament and to Neo-Platonism. From the sixth *Ennead* of

¹ *Corruption*, p. 440. See too, Herbert's *Miserie*, and Joseph's Beaumont's *The Pilgrim* and *House and Home*.

Plotinus came such thoughts as these: "God is not external to any one, but is present in all things, though they are ignorant that he is so;" "God is not in a certain place, but wherever anything is able to come into contact with him there he is present;" and, "a soul that knows itself must know that the proper direction of its energy is not outwards in a straight line, but round a center which is within it." Yet it was less easy for Plotinus than for the Christian, with his faith in the doctrine of the Trinity, to bring heaven to earth, and all through our sacred literature there appears this belief that God may be found in our own hearts.

In this sense the title of Christopher Harvey's volume, *The School of the Heart*, is to be understood. One of the lyrics of his earlier collection, *The Synagogue*, begins,

Life is a journey. From our mothers' wombs,
As houses, we set out; and in our tombs,
As inns we rest, till it be time to rise."

But the later poems lay emphasis on spiritual culture, rather than a change of abode. Speaking of the heart, the poet says:

Thou, Thou canst soften,
Lighten, enliven, purifie, restore,
And make more fruitfull then it was before
Its hardnesse, darkenesse, death, uncleannesse, losse,
And barrenesse; refine it from the drosse,
And draw out all the dregs; heal ev'ry sore;
Teach it to know it selfe, and love Thee more.

Hence the poems that follow this introduction are filled with thoughts familiar to the mystics, and, although Harvey seldom rises higher than the position he modestly claimed for himself as the disciple of George Herbert and Quarles, much in his poetry is truly significant.

My worldly bus'nesse shall be still,
That heav'nly thoughts my mind may fill,

he resolves, admitting

Of itself mine heart is dark;
But Thy fire, by shining bright,
Fills it full of saving light.

To this inspiration he therefore would trust and would have reason

"*The Journey*.

"her scepter quite resign." Possibly the keynote of all these lyrics is nothing more than these time-worn sentiments:

Move me no more, mad world, it is in vaine,
and

Why should I not ascend,
And climbe up where I may mend
My meane estate of misery? ¹⁵

A love for nature and a feeling of kinship with all its parts were consequently natural to the mystics. With all of Wordsworth's sympathy, Crashaw mentioned the rose, the violet, and "the poor panting turtle-dove." Yet his all-absorbing religious passion raised his thoughts as a rule above such things. John Norris, also, although he saw in nature one of the most direct manifestations of God, was too intellectual to be engrossed in it. The majority of poets, however, remained satisfied with such revelations of God as natural objects have to offer. "Indeed what are the Heavens, the earth, nay, every creature but Hieroglyphics and Emblems of his glory?" ¹⁶ This question from Quarles surprises the reader more than it would have done from John Smith, with his finer temperament. Smith seems but to express himself in saying:

God made the universe and all the creatures contained therein as so many glasses wherein He might reflect his glory. He hath copied forth Himself in the creation; and in this outward world we may read the lovely characters of the Divine goodness, power, and wisdom . . . Thus may a man walk up and down the world as in a garden of spices, and suck a Divine sweetness out of every flower. . . . True religion never finds itself out of the infinite sphere of the Divinity.¹⁷

Thus in general the mystical poets were content to read God in nature and the human heart. Like Plato, they would enjoy the beauties of this world, as a means of apprehending the greater radiance of another. And with Coventry Patmore, they would say:

The much abused earth is the "main region" of the Poet and not the inscrutable heavens, though unless his eye be habitually turned to those heavens, the earth remains as inscrutable as themselves.¹⁸

¹⁵ See pp. 109, 192, 203, 207, 220 and 205 of Grosart's edition.

¹⁶ *Emblems*, "To the Reader."

¹⁷ W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, pp. 295-296.

¹⁸ Basil Champney, *Coventry Patmore*, 1, p. 258. This passage, also, from

Vaughan was the greatest of the nature mystics of the seventeenth century. Dawn, "with its all-surprising light," sober evening, the "unthrift Sun," the azure heavens, the fountains and banks of flowers, "some fast asleep, others broad-eyed," the oaks and gilded clouds and God's "host of spies," the stars, all these spoke to Vaughan the deepest truths. Together they offered one grand symphony of praise;

In what Rings,
And Hymning Circulations the quick world
Awakes, and sings!
The rising winds,
And falling springs,
Birds, beasts, all things
Adore him in their kinds."

Nature, therefore, had lessons for him as it had for Wordsworth. This power is recognized in *The Tempest*:

O that man could do so! that he would hear
The world read to him! all the vast expence
In the Creation shed, and slav'd to sence
Makes up but lectures for his eie, and ear.

Sure, mighty love, foreseeing the discent
Of this poor Creature, by a gracious art
Hid in these low things snares to gain his heart,
And laid surprizes in each Element.

All things here shew him heaven; Waters that fall,
Chide, and fly up; Mists of corruptest fume
Quit their first beds & mount; trees, herbs, flowres, all
Strive upwards stil, and point him the way home.

Firmly convinced of the potent spirituality of all nature, Vaughan at times is seized with a longing like Shelley's in the *West Wind*, and exclaims:

one of Norris's *Practical Discourses*, ed. 1707, p. 203, might be quoted: God speaks to man "within, and he speaks to him without: Within by the Dictates of Reason, by the Light of inward Truth, and by the secret whispers of his spirit: Without, by the visible Frame and Order of the Creation, wherein not only the Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament shews his Handy-Work, but even the meanest Insect reads him a Lecture of Divinity, and Preaches to him a Sermon of Adoration and Devotion."

"*The Morning Watch*, p. 424.

I would I were some Bird, or Star,
 Flutt'ring in woods, or lifted far
 Above this Inne
 And Rode of sin!
 Then either Star, or Bird, should be
 Shining or singing still to thee.⁸⁰

At other times he felt, like Arnold, Nature's calming power:

I would (said I) my God would give
 The staidness of these things to man! for these
 To his divine appointments ever cleave,
 And no new business breaks their peace.⁸¹

The world, as Vaughan read it, was both his solace and his inspiration.

As Henry Vaughan found God everywhere in Nature, so his great fellow mystic, Thomas Traherne, found the divine by introversion in the human heart. In passing into his consciousness, nature seemed to resolve itself into something purely unsubstantial, and he saw the world with inward eyes. More implicitly than any of his fellow poets, this quiet, ascetic churchman followed the prescription of Hugo of St. Victor: "The way to ascend to God is to descend into oneself."⁸²

The peculiar trend of Traherne's mind, then, was for introspection. No other poet felt as strongly as he the preëminence of the spirit; indeed, for him, spirit was altogether disassociated from body. The soul is in the body, for the time being, but not confined within its narrow walls; it "is a sphere not shut up here, but everywhere." So his mind ranges where it will. In thought all times are present and all places near to him; for "thoughts are always free." They are the bond between man and God; and, since "by thoughts alone the soul is made divine," the mind "is the only being that doth live."⁸³

Traherne carried this trust in the supremacy of the spirit so far that he denied the reality of the objective world as plainly as Berkeley or any of the later idealists. No other implication can be assigned to this stanza from *My Spirit*:

⁸⁰ *Christ's Nativity*, p. 442.

⁸¹ *Man*, p. 477. See above, pp. 190-191.

⁸² W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 141. Cf. Joseph Beaumont's beautiful lyric, *House and Home*.

⁸³ *My Spirit*, p. 42, and *Thoughts*, pp. 107, 115.

This made me present evermore
 With whatsoe'er I saw.
 An object, if it were before
 My eye, was by Dame Nature's law,
 Within my soul. Her store
 Was all at once within me; all Her treasures
 Were my immediate and internal pleasures,
 Substantial joys, which did inform my mind.
 With all she wrought
 My soul was fraught,
 And every object in my heart a thought
 Begot, or was; I could not tell,
 Whether the things did there
 Themselves appear,
 Which in my Spirit truly seem'd to dwell;
 Or whether my conforming mind
 Were not even all that therein shin'd.

One need not wonder, therefore, at the unreality of Traherne's pictures of the material world. It existed for him subjectively, not objectively, and it was interesting and significant not in itself, but as a symbol or revelation of something higher. This was the view of Coleridge and the German Transcendentalists, who doubtless would gladly subscribe to Traherne's belief that

All objects are
 Alive in Thee! supersubstantial, rare,
 Above themselves, and nigh of kin
 To those pure things we find
 In His great mind
 Who made the world!

The result of this absorption in the life of the spirit was an extremely self-centered religion. In his regard, the world was created expressly for him;

Long time before
 I in my mother's womb was born,
 A God preparing did this glorious store,
 The world for me adorn.²⁴

God, indeed, showed his highest power and wisdom not so much in creating the world as in bringing it to Traherne to enjoy; for

Neither goodness, wisdom, power, nor love,
 Nor happiness itself in things could be,

²⁴ *The Salutation*, p. 3.

Did they not all in one fair order move
 And jointly by their service end in me:
 Had He not made an eye to be the Sphere
 Of all things, none of these would e'er appear."²²

From this reasoning the only rational deduction is that which Hegel later made, that God was only perfected in the creation. Nor did Traherne, like Drummond, shrink from this assumption.

And what than this can be more plain and clear?
 What truth than this more evident appear?
 The Godhead cannot prize
 The sun at all, nor yet the skies,
 Or air, or earth, or trees, or seas,
 Or stars, unless the soul of man they please."²³
 No joy, no, nor Perfection to thee came
 By the contriving of this World's great Frame.

And with even greater daring in *The Recovery* Traherne declares, "In us He reigns."

A second outcome of this mental attitude was the trust placed by Traherne in contemplation. Even in childhood he had proved its fruitfulness, when

A meditating, inward eye
 Gazing at quiet did within me lie,
 And every thing
 Delighted me that was their heavenly King."²⁴

Dumbness has the same story to record:

Sure Man was born to meditate on things,
 And to contemplate the eternal springs
 Of God and Nature, glory, bliss, and pleasure;
 That life and love might be his Heavenly treasure;
 And therefore speechless made at first, that He
 Might in himself profoundly busied be.

Nor would Traherne limit the fruitfulness of quiet thought to childhood; for he felt assured that

²² *The Improvement*, p. 28.

²³ *The Demonstration*, p. 85. Cf. Master Eckhard: "God without them (the creatures) would not be God." *Light, Life, and Love*, pp. xx-xxii. Drummond's *Hymn to the Fairest Fair* expresses the other view:

²⁴ *The Preparative*, p. 16.

A man that seemeth idle to the view
Of others, may the greatest business do,

and that

A quiet silent person may possess
All that is great or high in Blessedness.
The inward work is the supreme.⁸⁸

How similar this is to the thought of *Expostulation and Reply*. But Traherne's poems lack the touch of reality that Wordsworth's possess. Even if we could unite Vaughan with Traherne we should not have the full counterpart of the poet who combined in so high a degree both realism and idealism.

If one may judge from his own testimony, Traherne at least occasionally lost himself completely in the mystic's reverie that Wordsworth describes in *Tintern Abbey*:

That serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on,—
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul.

To such a state as this Traherne refers in *Meditations*. "Sometimes," he says, "I should be alone, and without employment, when suddenly my Soul would return to itself, and forgetting all things in the whole world which mine eyes had seen, would be carried away to the ends of the earth."⁸⁹ At such times, truths were apprehended that are ordinarily lost to consciousness or only imperfectly conceived. Of the certainty of such intuitive knowledge he speaks in *Demonstration*:

The highest things are easiest to be shewn,
And only capable of being known.
A mist involves the eye
While in the middle it doth live;
And till the ends of things are seen
The way's uncertain that doth stand between.
As in the air we see the clouds
Like winding sheets or shrouds,
Which, though they nearer are, obscure
The sun, which, higher far, is far more pure.

⁸⁸ *Silence*, p. 38.

⁸⁹ *Meditations*, 3. 17.

More plainly in Traherne and Vaughan than in other poets, one finds the conviction that man is but a portion of the divine, and that God is very near. Pietistic writers might describe life as a journey toward a distant goal; but poets saw God in nature and the human heart. Traherne, for example, asked in *Amendment*:

Am I a glorious spring
Of joys and riches to my King?
Are men made Gods? And may they see
So wonderful a thing
As God in me?
And is my soul a mirror that must shine
Even like the sun and be far more divine?

By the poets under consideration no idea is given of the slow and painful progress by which the mystic achieved his vision of the divine. Most of them rest satisfied with this divinely illumined world of self and seldom press on to a more complete sight of God. Dante's dearly bought consciousness of the nature of sin, his slow and toilsome regeneration, his radiant vision of God, altogether transcended the powers of other poets. The less literary mystics make a good deal of the slow growth to the achievement of their life's purpose, the vision of God. Dean Inge has divided their progress into these three stages: the purgative life; the illuminative life, when all our faculties, will, intellect, and feeling, are concentrated on God; and the intuitive life, whose motive force is contemplation.⁹⁰ Delacroix marks this fourfold division: a period of unrest; a period, begun abruptly, in which vision succeeds passivity; a period of sadness and depression; and, finally, a state of permanent peace and quiet.⁹¹ And Miss Underhill traces the mystic's growth more technically through the awakening of self, the purgation, and the illumination of self, to the soul's dark night and the final unitive experience that brings not simply a sight of God but the closest identification with him.⁹²

Of the slow and laborious progress along the mystic way, John Bunyan has left two interesting records. His personal experience, given in *Grace Abounding*, can be broken into the four stages marked out by Delacroix. He was troubled grievously at first with

⁹⁰ *Christian Mysticism*, p. 10.

⁹¹ *Études d'histoire et de psychologie du Mysticisme*, p. 346.

⁹² *Mysticism*, pp. 205 ff.

the consciousness of his sins. "These things, I say, when I was but a child, but nine or ten years old, did so distress my Soul, that there in the midst of my many Sports and Childish Vanities, amidst my vain Companions, I was often much cast down and afflicted in my Mind therewith, yet could I not let go my sins." Then came the sudden awakening on the village green, when the voice from heaven asked, "Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to Heaven, or have thy sins and go to Hell?" Depressing doubts, though, soon followed this conversion. He could not abandon bell-ringing and other favorite sports. His conversation was still so profane that an old woman of Bedford openly reproved him "as the ungodliest fellow for swearing that ever she heard in all her Life." And finally the dream on the hillside showed him his pitiable condition and left him with "a vehement hunger and desire to be one of that number that did sit in the Sunshine." Such depression has always been a part of the mystic's progress. But the final step, the permanent peace and quiet that at last were won, is but scantily represented in *Grace Abounding*, though at the end the penitent's morbid fears were sloughed off, "Darkness and Atheism fled away, and the blessed things of Heaven were set within my view."

In *Pilgrim's Progress* the same story is told with less morbid fear and with heightened imagination. The journey for poor Christian from the City of Destruction to the City of Zion is still long and wearisome. The difficulties and dangers encountered by the wayfarer are frightful; despair torments him. Nevertheless, in the end he reaches Beulah land, and, beyond the river Jordan, sees the shining eternal city.

It is almost impossible elsewhere in the literature of the seventeenth century to find so complete a record of the mystic way. The poets confined themselves to one or more single themes, or, writing in response to certain moods, made no attempt to trace their spiritual growth continuously. The mysticism of these poets, therefore, can best be studied as they reflect certain common moods. And if these moods are more or less prominent in all religious feeling, one is simply reminded again that mysticism is not altogether distinct from other forms of Christian faith, and that many of its fundamental teachings are as old as Philo and the Alexandrine Platonists.

Among the English mystics the sense that "the world is too

much with us" was especially strong. John Norris, the "Recluse of Bemerton," lived his secluded life, as Ferrar did, through choice, and rejoiced in "the happy change"; for

Tho my fleeting life runs swiftly on,
'Twill not be short, because 'tis all my own.²³

All that is said in his poetry for retirement is repeated in his essay *Of Solitude*, a piece of almost Augustan prose that ends with the thought: "I find I must take refuge at my Study at last, and there redeem the time that I have lost among the Learned." Vaughan had the same love for seclusion. He gives this counsel in *Retirement*:

If then thou would'st unto my seat,
'Tis not th' applause, and feat
Of dust, and clay
Leads to that way,
But from those follies a resolv'd Retreat.

Many of Traherne's poems, also, some of which have been already noticed, recognize the need for solitude. The child is born speechless, he says, "that he might in himself profoundly busied be." Later, amid the distractions of life, these first divinely learned truths are forgotten. But man's happiness, as all mystics would agree, depends on his return, in seclusion from the world, to this state of childish receptivity.

Such retirement involves also abnegation. Mystical writers had long stressed this as one of the fundamental virtues. The teachings of Thomas à Kempis, the counsel of the *Theologia Germanica*, and the wise advice of St. John of the Cross on the right and wrong use of the pleasures of life, were taken to heart by the poets. Our earthly desires, St. John showed, mean privation of the spirit of God, fatigue, torture, darkness, and weakness of soul. "When our affections," he said, "free from the influence of natural goods, which are deceitful, rest upon no one, the soul is free to love all men reasonably and spiritually, as God wills them to be loved." The doctrine was taken over by the English mystics. It is stressed especially in the last two books of More's *Psychozoia*, as its author had learned it in the *Theologia Germanica*. Habington, also, accepts it, in passages like these:

²³ *Retirement*.

What interest doth all the vaine
Cunning of surfet to your senses gaine;
Since it obscure the spirit must,
And bow the flesh to sleepe, disease or lust?

And again,

The soule which doth with God unite,
Those gayities how doth she slight
Which ore opinions sway! ²⁴

There comes into English verse, then, with these mystics the note of calm and quiet. The bitter arguments of the theologians and the harsh discords of civil war sound very remote, or are not heard at all. Instead of these earthly things, Norris says:

A nobler, a diviner guest,
Has took possession of my breast;
He has, and must engross it all,
And yet the room is much too small.

Vaughan again and again struck the same note. In *Retirement*, for example, he calls:

Fresh fields and woods; the Earth's fair face!
God's foot-stool! and mans dwelling place!
I ask not why the first Believer
Did love to be a Country liver,
Who to secure pious content
Did pitch by groves and wells his tent;
Where he might view the boundless skie,
And all those glorious lights on high;
With flying meteors, mists, and show'rs,
Subjected hills, trees, meads, and flow'rs,
And ev'ry minute bless the King,
And wise creatour of each thing?

Sure in their belief that only the things of the spirit count, the mystics are invariably optimists. A temperament that feels the richness of retirement and abnegation and religious calm is naturally optimistic. Mysticism has even come dangerously near to breaking down distinctions between right and wrong. Meister Eckhart had taught that "Evil, from the highest standpoint, is only a means for realizing the eternal aim of God in creation." ²⁵ Evil, therefore, which must be a part of God's plan, ceases to be

²⁴ *Et Alta a Longe Cognoscit, Deus, Deus Meus, and Cupio Dissolvi.*

²⁵ W. R. Inge, *Light, Life, and Love*, p. xxix.

evil. Augustine in the *Confessions* took this view, which was repeated again and again, in philosophy and in literature. Traherne in one of the *Meditations* asserts that "everything in its place is admirable, deep, and glorious; out of its place like a wandering bird, is desolate and good for nothing."⁹⁶ The poets seldom followed this argument, to its logical conclusion. Like Vaughan, they took the evil with the good and felt the blessedness of life even in its discipline. Vaughan means no more than this in his *Affliction*:

Sickness is wholesome, and Crosses are but curbs
To check the mule, unruly man;
They are heaven's husbandry, the famous fan
Purging the floor which Chaff disturbs.
Were all the year one constant Sun-shine, wee
Should have now flowres,
All would be drought and leanness; not a tree
Would make us bowres.

Traherne, however, had more of Emerson's blindness to the stern realities of life; to him

Even trades themselves seen in celestial light,
And cares and sins and woes are bright.

And the lesson that the purple mountain and the ancient wood spoke to the New England philosopher is recognized in Traherne's poem, *The Anticipation*:

Wants are the fountains of Felicity;
No joy could ever be
Were there no want. No bliss,
No sweetness perfect were it not for this.
Want is the greatest pleasure
Because it makes all treasure.
O what a wonderful profound abyss
Is God! In whom eternal wants and treasures
Are more delightful, since they both are pleasures.⁹⁷

In this attitude Traherne seems to be either utterly unsympathetic or blind to suffering. But when he declared,

All may happy be, each one most blest,
Both in himself and others,⁹⁸

⁹⁶ 3. 55. See too *Religio Medici*, I. 16, 53.

⁹⁷ *The Vision and Anticipation*.

⁹⁸ *Ease*, p. 56.

he means that spiritual blessings are offered to all. This is made plain by a poem called *The Choice*:

Eternity doth give the richest things
 To every man, and makes all Kings.
 The best and richest things it doth convey
 To all and every one,
 It raised me unto a throne!
 Which I enjoy,
 In such a way,
 That truth her daughter is my chiefest bride,
 Her daughter truth's my chiefest pride.

In this sense, "the best things should be the most common," as Traherne insists they are.⁹⁹

Of the English poets who thus recommended a life of calm and quiet as the surest means of knowing God, few attained what is technically called the state of contemplation. Of this psychic condition Richard of St. Victor distinguished three types or grades: *mentis dilatio*, or the enhancement of normal spiritual vision; *mentis sublevatio*, in which the vision rises above all human power; and *mentis alienatio*, when self-consciousness is lost in ecstasy. Only this last type is for the mystic true contemplation.¹⁰⁰ Ruysbroek described it in this way: "From the splendour of the Father a direct light shines on those spirits in which the thought is naked and free from similitudes, raised above the senses, above similitudes, above reason and without reason, in the lofty purity of the spirit."¹⁰¹ To this may be added the idea of Jacob Boehme: "Son, when thou canst throw thyself into That, where no creature dwelleth, though it be but for a moment, then thou hearest what God speaketh," and "If thou canst, my son, for a while but cease from all thy thinking and willing, then thou shalt hear the unspeakable words of God." In such a state "the simple eye of the soul itself remains open—that is thought, pure, naked, uniform, and raised above the understanding."¹⁰² Such is "the negative road," as mystics call it, to the divine.

For this extreme sort of contemplation, the *mentis alienatio*, English poets had but slight regard. Against it the practical

⁹⁹ *Meditations*, 3. 53.

¹⁰⁰ *Cell of Self Knowledge*.

¹⁰¹ M. Maeterlinck, *Ruysbroeck and the Mystics*, p. 39.

¹⁰² *Of the Supersensual Life*, Everyman ed., p. 227, and Ludovic Rosius, quoted from R. A. Vaughan, 1, p. 25.

English temper spoke in these plain words of Frances Quarles: "Let not the sweetness of Contemplation be so esteem'd, that Action be despis'd; Rachel was more faire, Leah more fruitfull: As contemplation is more delightfull, so is it more dangerous: Lot was upright in the City, and wicked in the Mountaine."¹⁰³ Nor had these English mystics often reached this state of contemplation. Richard Baxter, who certainly led the active life that Quarles enjoined, might recommend contemplation to his parishioners: "Get thy heart," he urged, "as clear from the world as thou canst; wholly lay by the thoughts of thy business, of thy troubles, of thy enjoyments, and of everything that may take up any room in thy soul." But he was forced to make this admission, "alas, how little know I of that whereof I am about to speak," and really he meant to recommend no such extreme contemplation as the true mystic craves.¹⁰⁴

Besides Traherne, Henry More and the recluse of Bemerton were possibly the only poets who approached closely to this state of mind. "The soul," Norris realized, "may be wound up to a most strange degree of Abstraction by the silent and steady Contemplation of God. . . . Some of the severer Platonists have been of Opinion, that 'tis possible for a Man by mere intention of thought not only to withdraw the Soul from all commerce with the Senses, but even really to separate it from the Body. . . . There are exceeding great Measures of Abstraction in Contemplation, so great, that sometimes whether a Man be in the Body or out of the Body, he himself can hardly tell."¹⁰⁵ How closely Norris reached this condition himself, or whether he classed himself with the "severer Platonists," one can only surmise. It may be that *The Return* is based on a personal experience:

Dear Contemplation, my divinest joy,
When I thy sacred mount ascend
What heavenly sweets my soul employ!
Why can't I there my days for ever spend?
When I have conquer'd thy steep heights with pain
What pity 'tis that I must down again!

But at the end the poet swings back to the more practical views of Quarles and Baxter:

¹⁰³ *Enchyridion*, 4. 12.

¹⁰⁴ *Saints' Rest*, pt. 4. 6, 9; 1. 4, 1.

¹⁰⁵ *An Idea of Happiness*. In *A Collection of Miscellanies*, ed. 1687, pp. 422-423. See too *Elevation*.

No, here I must not think to dwell,
But mind the duties of my proper sphere.
So angels, tho they heaven's glories know,
Forget not to attend their charge below.

Jeremy Taylor, also, expressed the same conservative point of view.¹⁰⁶ "There is a degree of meditation so exalted," he admits, "that it changes the very name, and is called contemplation; and it is the unitive way of religion, that is, it consists in unions and adherences to God." Taylor feels, however, that such rapture is often due to a psychopathic condition, and "that many illusions have come in the likeness of visions, and absurd fancies under the pretence of raptures." Far better, he feels, it is to "entertain the inward man . . . in actions of repentance, virtue, and precise duty." But few true mystics would accept as apt the analogy that Taylor uses: "It is more healthful and nutritive to dig the earth, and to eat of her fruits, than to stare upon the greatest glories of the heavens: So unsatisfying a thing is rapture and transportation to the soul; it often distracts the faculties, but seldom does advantage piety, and is full of danger in the greatest of its lustre."

The preparative of the mystic for contemplation, it has been seen, was the conscious removal of the mind from all things temporal and spacial, the going forth of the soul "beyond the limits of nature and of reason" to ascent on the "divine ladder of faith." The condition has already been described.¹⁰⁷ "He who penetrates into himself, transcends himself, ascends truly to God."

Frances Quarles, who would be hardly able to lose himself in any form of abstraction, gives this precise description of such "noughting of self":

When thy ambitious knowledge wold attempt
So high a Taske as God, she must exempt
All carnall sense; Thy Reason must release
Her pow'r; Thy Fancy must be bound to th' peace;
Thy Spirits must be rapt; They must exile
Thy flesh, and keepe a Sabbath for a while;
Thou must forget thy selfe, and take strong Bands
Of thy owne Thoughts, and shake eternall hands

¹⁰⁶ *The Life of our Blessed Lord*, Pt. 1, sect. 5, disc. 3. "Of Meditation," pp. 116-121.

¹⁰⁷ See also St. John of the Cross, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, pp. 64, 74, and Inge's quotation from Albertus Magnus, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 145.

With thy rebellious Lusts; discard and cleare
Thy heart of all Ideas.¹⁰⁸

To this conclusion the mystics were brought by their sense of the infiniteness of Deity. In that mood John Norris, for example, opens his *Divine Hymn*:

No power can justly praise Him but must be
As great, as infinite as He;
He comprehends His boundless Self alone,
Created minds too shallow are and dim,
(His works to fathom, much more Him.

Hence the one way to God seemed to be the complete loss of sense and reason.

Another religious experience that is described again and again by these literary mystics is the sense of the darkness impeding human sight as it seeks the divine. The "dark night of the soul" immediately preceding the final triumph has proved the most tragic step in the mystic's quest. Henry Vaughan, who spoke so often of radiant light and whose favorite word was *bright* or *white*, said finely

There is in God, some say
A deep, but dazzling darkness.¹⁰⁹

Drummond, likewise, admitted that God can be seen only as the dark mists for a moment break away. All readers of poetry are familiar with Francis Thompson's splendid vision:

I dimly guess what Time in mists confounds;
Yet ever and anon a trumpet sounds
From the hid battlements of Eternity;
These shaken mists a space unsettle, then
Round the half-glimpsed turrets slowly wash again.

Long before the modern Catholic poet won this moment's joy, Henry Drummond had experienced it;

Beneath a sable vaile, and Shadowes deepe,
Of Vnaccessible and dimming light,
In Silence ebane Clouds more blacke than Night,
The Worlds great King his secrets hidde doth keepe:
Through those Thicke Mistes when any Mortall Wight

¹⁰⁸ *On our Meditation upon God*. See also *Enchyridion*, 2. 80.

¹⁰⁹ *The Night*, p. 523.

Aspires, with halting pace, and Eyes that weepe,
To pore, and in his Misteries to creepe,
With Thunders hee and Lightnings blastes their Sight.²⁰

But the poets speak more often of the direct intuition that they have had of divine truth. No one of them achieved the supernatural vision described vividly by Dante in the closing cantos of the *Paradiso*; for most of these poets saw no further than this material world and our human nature illumined by a divine light. Of their many references to the less abnormal glimpse of the divine, only two can be given here, one the vision of a Catholic poet, the other of a Protestant.

In one of the most mystical of Crashaw's poems, *In the Glorious Epiphany of our Lord God*, the three kings unite in their song of adoration. Their chief argument is that the bright sun and the old pagan idols have been shorn of their glory by the coming of Christ. The idea is worked out in part with Crashaw's customary fantasticality;

Neuer more
By wanton heyfer shall be worn
A garland, or a guilded horn:
The altar-stall'd ox, fatt Osyris now
 (With his fair sister cow
Shall kick the clouds no more; but lean and tame,
See His horn'd face, and dy for shame:
And Mithra now shall be no name.

The remainder of the poem, however, is more truly mystical. The three kings look forward in time past the first dimming of the sun, at the Crucifixion, to the second, at the conversion of Saul. By this eclipse Crashaw says, the indirect, or "oblique," source of light was shut off, and Saul, "the right-ey'd Areopagite," was able by "vigorous guess"—that is the mystic's intuition—to "inuade and catch Thy quick reflex." The vision came with "swift flash," and Saul was transformed to Paul, the first "great mystic of the mystic day." Thereafter, he taught the true path between this world and the other;

O prize of the rich Spirit! with what feirce chase
Of his strong soul, shall he
Leap at thy lofty face,

²⁰ *Mans Knowledge*. See Giles Fletcher's vision in the fourth canto of *Christ's Victory and Triumph*.

And seize the swift flash, in rebound
 From this obsequious cloud,
 Once call'd a sun,
 Till dearly thus undone;
 Till thus triumphantly tam'd (O ye two
 Twinne sunnes!) and taught now to negotiate you.

The kings therefore resolve

 To make braue way
 Upwards, and presse on for the pure
 Intelligentiall prey,

OR

 At least to play
 The amorous spyes
 And peep and proffer at Thy sparkling throne.

If one of Norris's poems were to be placed beside this, it would doubtless be *The Elevation*. "The general design of the precedent poem," he explains, "is to represent the gradual ascent of the soul by contemplation to the supreme good, together with its firm adherency to it, and its full acquiescence in it. . . . The inclinations of the animal nature have little or no power over him, who has advanc'd to the heights of habitual contemplation." The last two stanzas of the poem are:

But see, to what new region am I come?
 I know it well, it is my native home.
 Here led I once a life divine,
 Which did all good, no evil know:
 Ah! who wou'd such sweet bliss resign
 For those vain shews which fools admire below?
 'Tis true, but don't of folly past complain,
 But joy to see these blest abodes again.

A good retrieve: but lo, while thus I speak,
 With piercing rays, th' eternal day does break,
 The beauties of the face divine,
 Strike strongly on my feeble sight:
 With what bright glories does it shine!
 'Tis one immense and ever-flowing light.
 Stop here my soul; thou canst not bear more bliss,
 Nor can thy now rais'd palate ever relish less.

The fervor with which the mystics have described such moments of vision is proof of their sincerity. A single thought is enough to kindle their imaginations; or, as Crashaw felt,

I sing the name which none can say
But touch'd with an interior ray.¹²¹

But moments of vision like these were not usually of long duration. At the opening of the *Paradiso* Dante laments that human memory cannot retain, nor words reproduce, adequately the experience he has had. Henry Vaughan's vision proved to be just as fleeting:

But this near done,
That little light I had was gone.¹²²

Or one may read the same confession of disappointment from John Norris:

When I have conquer'd thy steep heights with pain
What pity 'tis that I must down again.¹²³

The marked difference, however, between these brief moments of vision and man's normal power of apprehension, was not understood by the mystics to imply that the spirit's life is not continuous and unbroken. Neither birth nor death, which pertain to the physical existence only, can affect it at all.

A belief in preëxistence was therefore natural to the mystics. Henry More gathered in *Præ-existency* the chief arguments that Neo-Platonists used in support of the belief. Drummond and Norris, and indeed most of the poets here considered, accept the idea. In the *Elevation* Norris calls to his spirit:

Take wing—my soul—and upwards bend thy flight,
To thy originary fields of light.

There he anticipates finding nothing strange:

But see, to what new region am I come?
I know it well, it is my native home.
Here led I once a life divine,
Which did all good, no evil know.

Of these seventeenth-century poets, Vaughan and Traherne were fondest of the idea. Vaughan's *Retreate* may have given to Wordsworth the fundamental idea of the *Ode*:

Happy those early dayes! when I
Shin'd in my Angell-infancy.
Before I understood this place

¹²¹ *To the Name—Jesus.*

¹²² *Vanity of Spirit.*

¹²³ *Contemplation.*

Appointed for my second race,
 Or taught my soul to fancy ought
 But a white, Celestiall thought,
 When yet I had not walkt above
 A mile, or two, from my first love,
 And looking back (at that short space),
 Could see a glimpse of his bright-face
 When on some gilded cloud, or flowre
 My gazing soul would dwell an houre,
 And in those weaker glories spy
 Some shadows of eternity.

Just as thoroughly Wordsworthian, though, are these lines from *Man's Fall*:

Besides I've lost
 A traine of lights, which in those Sunshine dayes
 Were my sure guides,

or these verses from *Corruption*:

Sure, It was so, Man in those early days
 Was not all stone, and Earth,
 He shin'd a little, and by those weak Rays
 Had some glimpse of his birth.

Holding this belief Vaughan and especially Traherne saw a sanctity in childhood. Vaughan asks in one of his poems,

Since all that age doth teach, is ill,
 Why should I not love childe-hood still?¹¹⁴

To this thought Traherne returns again and again. Childhood seemed to him full of such happy innocence as this:

A learned and a happy ignorance
 Divided me
 From all the sloth, care, pain, and sorrow
 that advance
 The madness and the misery
 Of men. No error, no distraction I
 Saw soil the earth or overcloud the sky.

This comes about because God

In our childhood with us walks
 And with our thoughts mysteriously he talks.

¹¹⁴ *Childe-hood*, p. 521.

And like the later poet who addressed the child as "thou best Philosopher," "thou eye among the blind," and "mighty Prophet! seer blest!" Traherne would show us

That Childhood might itself alone be said
My tutor, teacher, guide to be,
Instructed then even by the Deity,¹¹⁵

The same understanding of childhood is conveyed in Traherne's fine prose *Meditations*. "Those pure and virgin apprehensions I had in my infancy," he admits, "and that divine light wherewith I was born, are the best unto this day wherein I can see the universe."¹¹⁶ Traherne's prose under the influence of a strong emotion becomes more harmonious than his verse in the two succeeding meditations that begin, "All appeared new and strange at first, inexpressibly rare and delightful, and beautiful," and "The corn was orient and immortal wheat."¹¹⁷ Vaughan also, sensing the wonderment of the infant in its new surroundings, says, "Things here were strange unto him." But neither poet could do more in verse than Traherne in these deeply felt meditations to show the innocence and sacredness of Childhood.

Between birth and death, the other termination of our earthly life, intervenes our mortal existence. Commonplace enough it seems to ordinary men; but, in the eyes of the mystic, it, too, is a marvel. "We are that bold and adventurous piece of Nature," *The Religio Medici* reminds us; for Sir Thomas Browne conceived the universe as a "a Stair, or manifest scale of creatures, rising not disorderly, or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion." Things like plants having mere existence, creatures with life and sense, mankind endowed with reasoning faculties, and the unseen spirits, those "tutelary and Guardian Angels," hovering about us—what a mystery is life! And in this world man lives as an "amphibious piece between a corporal and spiritual Essence, that middle form that links these two together." "The whole creation is a Mystery," the author concludes, "and particularly that of Man."¹¹⁸

Such a philosopher can hardly regard death as any essential change in our being, though he quaintly terms it "the mortal and

¹¹⁵ *Eden*, p. 8, and the *Approach*, pp. 31, 33.

¹¹⁶ *Meditations*, 3. 1.

¹¹⁷ See above.

¹¹⁸ *Religio Medici*, 1. 15, 34, 36.

right-lined circle" that "must conclude and shut up all." To him "man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes and pompous in the grave."¹¹⁹ So the mystics in general have handled finely the thought of death. Sometimes John Norris sinks to extreme prosi-ness; but two poems on this theme are as fine, in some phrases at least, as *Prospice*. *The Meditation* contains this memorable passage:

When after some delays, some dying strife,
The soul stands shivering on the ridge of life;
With what a dreadful curiosity
Does she launch out into the sea of vast Eternity!

With equally arresting phrase the same question is presented in *The Prospect*:

What a strange moment will that be,
My soul, how full of curiosity,
When wing'd, and ready for thy eternal flight
On th' utmost edges of thy tottering clay,
 Hovering and wishing longer stay,
Thou shalt advance, and have Eternity in sight!
When just about to try that unknown sea,
 What a strange moment will that be!

And as a last illustration none better could be found than John Donne's vivid metaphor:

Death is but a Groome,
Which brings a Taper to the outward roome,
Whence thou spiest first a little glimmering light,
And after brings it nearer to thy sight:
For such approaches doth heaven make in death.¹²⁰

Two pieces of prose literature handle the theme of death finely, though in different spirit. One of them, Drummond's *Cypresse Grove*, has already been noticed. The other is *Pilgrim's Progress*. At the end of his journey Christian catches a distant glimpse of the heavenly city. He and his companions cross the river with difficulty and ascend the mountain in the company of two angels. "You are going now, said they, to the Paradise of God, wherein you shall see the Tree of Life, and eat of the never-fading fruits thereof: and when you come there you shall have white Robes given you, and your walk and talk shall be every day with the

¹¹⁹ *Hydriotaphia*, ch. 5.

¹²⁰ *Second Anniversary*, ll. 85-89.

King, even all the days of Eternity." Overcome with emotion, Bunyan exclaims, "Oh! by what tongue or pen can their glorious joy be expressed?" Nevertheless, despite the fervor of this description, the author is not altogether a mystic. The terrible plight of Ignorance as the dream ends, and the morbid fears of Christian himself at the fording, are in no wise consonant with the hope and the brotherly charity of the mystic faith.

In true mysticism neither death nor birth is regarded as affecting any profound change in man's spiritual life. Indeed, the mystic does not isolate this world from the next. Heaven is conceived not as a place remote and different from this world, but as a spiritual state or condition. This old opinion was held by the Cambridge Platonists. Benjamin Whichcote, for example, believed that "Heaven is first a Temper, and then a Place," and that "it is not possible for a man to be made happy, by putting him into a happy place, unless he be in a good state." In the *Discourses* of John Smith the same teaching is found. "As the Kingdom of Heaven is not so much without men as within,—so the tyranny of the Devil and Hell is not so much in some external things as in the qualities and dispositions of men's minds," and "wherever there is beauty, harmony, goodness, love, ingenuity, wisdom, holiness, justice, and the like,—there is God."¹²¹

Poets like Vaughan, who felt the presence of God everywhere in nature, would naturally accept all this as true. The thought, however, was never expressed more finely than by Sir Thomas Browne in the *Religio Medici*:

Now, the necessary Mansions of our restored selves are those two contrary and incompatible places we call Heaven and Hell. . . . St. John's description by Emeralds, Chrysolites, and precious Stones, is too weak to express the material Heaven we behold. Briefly, therefore, where the soul hath the full measure and complement of happiness; where the boundless appetite of that spirit remains compleatly satisfied, that it can neither desire addition nor alteration; that, I think, is truly Heaven. . . . Wherever God will thus manifest himself, there is Heaven, though within the circle of this sensible world.¹²²

English literary mystics have seen nothing abnormal in their attitude toward life. In fact, the norm would seem to them to be just this:

¹²¹ E. T. Campagnac, p. xxxi, and J. Tulloch, 2, p. 188.

¹²² Pt. I, sect. 49.

Methinks I see a ray,
A glorious beam break through Heav'n's canopy;
Me thinks I hear a voice, Come Soul, and see,
Come; here, here lies thy rest; rest in my Word, & Me.¹²³

But although they have possessed only natural human faculties, the mystics have developed some of them at the expense of others. One writer on the subject detects in the mystic temperament these marked trails; a strong subjectivity; a full development of the sub-conscious faculties; and a sensitiveness to environment.¹²⁴ Only by Catholic writers has the mystic's vision been regarded as at all supernatural, a special gift to the chosen few.¹²⁵

English mysticism, therefore, has been notably sane and reasonable. This statement, however, should not be taken to imply that mysticism in general has been marked for its vagaries in thought or conduct. The great mystics the world over have been practical, helpful men and women. Nowhere could be found more sound teaching than this of Master Eckhart: "Some people pride themselves on their detachment from mankind, and are glad to be alone or in church; and therein lies their peace. But he who is truly in the right state, is so in all circumstances, and among all persons."¹²⁶ With the same concern for actual, everyday duties, Ruysbrock stressed such virtues as obedience, patience, gentleness, kindness, and self-sacrifice. So also Juan de Valdes wrote: "Day by day I acquire a stronger conviction that the Christian should be concerned about experience, and not about theoretical knowledge. . . . His business is not learned by speculation, but by experience."¹²⁷ Again, to the early Platonist Pico della Mirandola is attributed the statement: "Love God we rather may, than either know Him, or by speech utter Him." Everywhere among the greater English mystics, from Walter Hilton's time to our own, one finds this concern for conduct and the ordinary duties of life.

There would be no reason to deny that numerous sects in Puritan England were guilty of all kinds of extravagances. Even some of the extreme mystics who can hardly be classed with these sectaries, as they were called, laid great stress on miraculous revelations by

¹²³ Phineas Fletcher, *Religious Musings. Paraphrase—upon Ecclesiastes.*

¹²⁴ C. H. Hamilton, *Psychological Interpretation of Mysticism.*

¹²⁵ See Sharpe, *Mysticism: Its true Nature and Value.*

¹²⁶ Inge, *Light, Life and Love*, p. 12.

¹²⁷ *Divine Considerations*, no. 57, Translated by Ferrar.

vision, spiritual voices, and the like. The voices that directed Bunyan and Cromwell need scarcely be mentioned here. Sir Simon d'Ewes recounts in his autobiography, as Bunyan does in *Grace Abounding*, the several occasions where his life was spared by divine intervention. George Fox tells in his *Journal* of the guidance he received from heavenly voices and visions. Baxter in his *Remains* cites similar instances of God's watchful care over him; for "the marvelous Preservation of Souldiers by Bibles in their Pockets which have received the Bullets, and such like I will not mention."¹²⁸ Lastly, Lord Herbert tells us in his *Autobiography* how he hesitated to publish his treatise *De Veritate*, though Hugo Grotius urged it, till, in response to a prayer, "a loud though yet gentle noise came from the heavens," which he took as a sign that he should print his book.

But of such miraculous agencies English men of letters have little to say. Their mysticism sprang purely from deep spirituality. Impelled by that alone, Nicholas Ferrar left his responsible position in the Virginia Company to found the religious community at Little Gidding. There he lived in peaceful retirement, seeking God in the daily routine of study and worship, and educating others to find God in the same way. Many other men and women of the seventeenth century lived equally spiritual lives.

Deep spirituality, therefore, fills the literature of the century. Some of the mystical writers were philosophers and theologians, like John Norris and the Cambridge Platonists. Some were quiet, meditative men like Drummond. There were scientists, also, like Sir Thomas Browne, and other busy men of the world, though we may think of them, as we think of Vaughan, as simply God-inspired poets. Some gave their lives wholly to religion, as Traherne did and Ferrar, while others lived close to the rapidly moving current of life. Was not Plotinus right, therefore, when he wrote to Flaccus: "There are different roads by which this end (the apprehension of the Infinite) may be reached. The love of beauty, which exalts the poet; that devotion to the One and that ascent of science which makes the ambition of the philosopher; and that love and those prayers by which some devout and ardent soul tends in its moral purity towards perfection. These are the great highways conducting to that height above the actual and particular, where

¹²⁸ *Reliquiæ*, p. 46.

we stand in the immediate presence of the Infinite, who shines out as from the deeps of the soul."

It would be interesting to trace the influence of these seventeenth-century writers on the poets who succeeded them. Donne was proclaimed at once "the great lord of wit"; but his power rested on the least mystical elements of his verse—his restless, daring intelligence, the spell of his strange fancies, his rugged, tortuous expression. Traherne, on the contrary, remained absolutely unknown until almost the close of the last century. A copy of Henry Vaughan's poems was among the books disposed of when Wordsworth's library was sold. Coleridge, himself the most subtle metrist of his day, praised the versification of Crashaw highly. And one might feel that not only he and Pope, but Coventry Patmore, later, and Francis Thompson learned much from the Catholic mystic. Indeed, a great deal that seems distinctive in the poets of the Romantic Movement, much, for example, of Wordsworth's supposed indebtedness to Rousseau, comes to seem rather a part of the common spiritual inheritance of the English people from the earlier period. The romantic poets simply caught up again certain threads of thought and feeling that had been dropped in the weave of Augustan literature. The love for nature, the respect for man as man, the appreciation of childhood, and subjectivity were no new elements in English thought.

What, then, can mysticism be, if it has been furthered by men of such markedly different temperaments and if its influence has been so universal? Possibly no definition can be framed that will seem both precise and sufficiently inclusive; for mysticism, as a movement, in allowing the freest expression of personality, has sacrificed centripetal force. It may be sufficient to say, in conclusion, that the word designates a certain attitude toward self, the outer world of experience, and the unseen world of spirit. Three illustrations may help to explain this. Of himself, the great subjective poet, Thomas Traherne, cried:

Thou which within me art, yet me! Thou eye,
And temple of His whole infinity!
O what a world art Thou! ¹²⁰

Of the relation of this spiritual force, self, toward the material world Sir Thomas Browne, near the close of *Hydriotaphia*,

¹²⁰ *My Spirit*.

expressed the mystics's point of view. "Pious spirits," he wrote, "who have passed their days in raptures of futurity, made little more of this world, than the world that was before it, while they lay obscure in the chaos of preordination, and night of their fore-beings They have already had an handsome anticipation of heaven; the glory of the world is surely over, and the earth in ashes unto them." This anticipation of Heaven that Browne spoke of was enjoyed by Henry Vaughan, and the highest expression of the English mystic's vision is to be found in his two fine poems:

I saw Eternity the other night
Like a great Ring of pure and endless light,
All calm, as it was bright,

and

They are all gone into the world of light!
And I alone sit lingering here;
Their very memory is fair and bright,
And my sad thoughts doth clear.

The State University of Iowa.

MILTON AND THE ART OF WAR

BY JAMES HOLLY HANFORD

No more interesting pages are to be found in Masson's *Life of Milton* than those in which the ever-curious and indefatigable biographer discusses the question of his hero's experience in arms. Were there good and valid reasons why Milton should have served in the Parliamentary army? Masson thinks that there were. Did he actually do so? Very properly but with evident reluctance he concludes that he did not. On the basis, however, of certain military details in *Paradise Lost* the biographer is assured that Milton must at some time in his life have acquired a practical knowledge of drill and manœuvres, and, from the evidence of a statement in the *Apology for Smectymnuus* he infers that he was actually under training with the London militia in 1642. The statement of Philips that there was in 1643 a project to make Milton an adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army Masson dismisses as a myth. Finally, regarding the sonnet "On His Door when the Assault was Intended to the City," he apparently feels the possibility of drawing damaging inferences from it regarding the state of Milton's nerves and endeavors to forestall them by suggesting the conclusion that "the thing" was a jest or a semi-jest, written in mere whim, in answer to the banter of some of his neighbors.

Throughout this discussion Masson's aim is, as it should be, primarily biographical. The subject which he opens up is, however, of much wider scope, and Masson, in his preoccupation with questions of fact and with the desire to reveal a hidden episode of Milton's life quite fails to do it justice. Certain important aspects of the material he entirely overlooks, with the result that even his biographical inferences rest on insecure foundations. It is the purpose of this study to supplement these deficiencies by giving as comprehensive an account as possible of Milton's relation to the Art of War. This requires, first, a description of the poet's sources of knowledge in the field of military science, and, second, a fuller analysis of the military elements in his work. The biographical questions raised by Masson are to some extent involved, and I shall take occasion to suggest a revision of his conclusions, at least in so

far as they are affected by considerations of which he failed to take account.

I

For an explanation of the attention devoted by Milton to the acquisition of military knowledge it is necessary to go no further than his famous and characteristic definition of a complete and generous education as that which "fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously, all the duties both public and private of peace and war."¹ Framing his own scheme of instruction in the spirit of this definition he inevitably assigned an important place to military studies. Philips lists among the works read by himself and his brother under Milton's tutelage Xenophon's *Institution of Cyrus* and *Anabasis*, Ælian's *Tactics* and the *Strategmata* of Frontinus and Polyænus, works which as we shall see were regarded in Milton's time as text books and not as classics, and Milton proposes for the ideal academy as outlined in the tractate *Of Education* a thorough training in the art of war, both through the study of these and similar authors and through actual exercises in arms and drill. The description of this part of his program is so important for the present study that it must be quoted at length:

About two hours before supper they [the students] are by a sudden alarum or watchword, to be called out to their military motions, under sky or covert, according to the season, as was the Roman wont; first on foot, then, as their age permits, on horseback, to all the art of cavalry; that, having in sport, but with much exactness and daily muster, served out the rudiments of their soldiership, in all the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern strategems, tactics, and warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long war come forth renowned and perfect commanders in the service of their country.²

Now it is obvious that the presence of military study and discipline in Milton's system is not, as Masson implies, necessarily the result of some accidentally acquired personal experience, or even of the posture of public affairs at the time when the tractate *Of Education* was written. It is an essential part of Milton's attempt to carry out consistently in a definite educational program

¹ *Of Education*, edited by Laura E. Lockwood (Riverside Literature Series), p. 9.

² *Of Education*, pp. 26-7.

the humanistic ideal, so nobly formulated by the scholars, philosophers, and poets of the Renaissance, of a trained leadership, in which practical skill is integrated with and based on liberal culture. In this ideal, as it was developed under classical influence on the groundwork of mediæval chivalry, the military element had always held a predominant place. Milton consciously subordinates it, but he does not discard it. Comparing his academy with those of the ancients he proudly boasts that he has surpassed them in comprehensiveness of aim.

Herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which Plato noted in the commonwealth of Sparta, whereas that city trained up their youth most for war, and these in their academies and Lyceum all for the gown, this institution of breeding shall be equally good both for peace and war.*

But if the military element was an integral part of Milton's ideal of a training for leadership it is not to be supposed that, while prescribing it for others, he would have failed to incorporate as much of it as was consistent with his particular bent and occupation in his own carefully elaborated plan for self-development. He had also special motives for continuing a study initiated under this general humanistic impulse beyond the years of his activity as student and schoolmaster. The events of his own time and his rôle as their interpreter demanded it; so also did his conception of the kind of preparation necessary for the writing of an epic poem: "industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly arts and affairs." These and other related causes, coöperating with Milton's instinctive thoroughness and with his zeal for study, were calculated to be hardly less effectual than a definite intention to embrace a military career, in urging him forward to master at least the theoretical side of the art of war. The degree to which he actually did this is greatly underestimated by Masson, who speaks of the absurdity of supposing that Milton could have been considered fit for an important military office after a few months' drill under Skippon, aided by readings in Ælianus, Polyænus, and Frontinus.

Masson's error in judging the proficiency of Milton as acquired from books is no doubt due to a failure to take account of the character of military science in Milton's day. The study of the

* *Of Education*, 23-24.

military classics of antiquity, however superfluous it may be in the training of an officer at present, was then of the utmost practical importance. The application of the principles set forth in them had revolutionized the art of war in the early Renaissance and upon them the actual practice of Milton's time was based. They were therefore indispensable text-books for the soldier and as such they were edited and re-edited throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with more or less adaptation to contemporary conditions but with little thought of their being superseded. A typical example of such application of a fundamental ancient treatise is Henri de Rohan's *Caesar*, translated into English in 1640 by John Cruso as "The Complete Captain, or an abridgement of Caesar's Warres, with observations upon them, together with a collection of the order of the militia of the ancients and a particular treatise of modern warre." John Robinson's "The Tactics of Ælian or Art of embattling an army after the Grecian manner, Englished and illustrated with figures and notes upon the ordinary motions of the Phalange," published in 1616, serves a similar purpose, the illustrative material being such as to bridge the gap between ancient and modern warfare and to enable the scholar-soldier to appropriate the skill and experience of antiquity for present use. From such standard works as these to the independent text-books of the Renaissance it is but a step. Even the most practical of them follow the classical authorities in a way which is sometimes the despair of the modern historian of military science.

It was not, however, the technical treatises alone which were considered relevant in the academic training of the soldier. All the accounts of ancient wars, descriptions and philosophies of discipline, incidents of battle, anecdotes and aphorisms of the great captains were regarded with almost superstitious veneration as essentials of knowledge for the modern man of war. Thus Robert Ward, a writer whom Milton knew and of whom I shall have much to say in a moment, while insisting on the need of experience and practice, assigns a place of first importance in the soldier's equipment to the "knowledge of the manifold accidents which rise from the variety of human actions, wherein reason and error hath interchanged contrary events of fortune." "And this knowledge," he adds, "is only to be gained in the registers of antiquity and history recording the passages of former ages, that their harms may be our warnings, and their happy proceedings our fortunate

directions." That this is no mere scholar's counsel is proved by the fact that the passage is echoed by so practical a soldier as General Monk in his *Observations upon Military and Political Affairs*, published in 1671 but written some twenty-five years before. "And therefore it is not only experience and practice which maketh a soldier worthy of his name, but the knowledge of the manifold accidents which rise from the variety of human actions is best and most speedily learned by reading history." The effects of insistence on this doctrine and, in general, of the esteem in which the classical authorities were held are well summarized by Fortescue, the historian of the British army. "Every soldier steeped himself in ancient military lore, and quoted the Hipparchius of Xenophon and the Tactics of Ælian, the Commentaries of Caesar and the expeditions of Alexander, Epaminondas' heavy infantry and Pompey's discipline. In a word Europe for two centuries went forth to war with the newest pattern of musket in hand, and a brain stocked with maxims from Frontinus and Vegetius, and with examples from Plutarch and Livy and Arrian."

From the viewpoint, therefore, of his own day Milton's exhaustive study of the Greek and Latin classics would have brought him into contact with all that was most important in the theoretical equipment of the soldier. The only question would be in regard to the degree of attention which he devoted to the military elements contained in them. Fortunately we have in the preserved notes from one division of his reading, recorded in his *Commonplace Book*,⁴ indisputable proof of the fact that knowledge of the art of war was one of the objects uppermost in his mind. There are in the notes, besides the entries on topics which relate to this subject in its more general aspect, as, for example, those under the headings "De Fortitudine," "De Duellis," "Amor in Patriam," "Astutia Politica," "Gymnastica," several pages devoted to questions more specifically military: "Disciplina Militaris," "De Bello," "De Bello Civili," "De Seditone," "De Urbe Obsidenda et Obsessa." Nearly all those notes are drawn from post-classical history, but Milton's interests would, of course, have been the same in the analogous ancient materials; if we possessed Milton's collections from Thucydides and Tacitus, and Polybius, as we do those from De Thou and Commynes and the English chronicles

⁴ Edited by A. J. Horwood for the Camden Society, 1877.

they would probably exemplify even more strikingly the degree to which this reading was regarded by him as affording precepts and instances applicable to the requirements of military leadership in his own time.

With the ancient works more specifically devoted to the art of war Milton was probably as familiar as any man of his generation. It is a striking fact that two of the three classical works cited in the Commonplace Book, Cæsar's *Commentaries* and Frontinus' *Strategmata*, are military treatises. These authors, together with Xenophon, Ælian, and Polyænus, Milton read, as we have seen, with his nephews. His knowledge of the other military classics of antiquity may be taken for granted, as may also his acquaintance with the older post-classical writers on the art of war which were placed by the Renaissance on an equality with the ancients themselves and were often contained in the same volumes with them. Thus Milton may well have used his Ælian in the Elzevir edition of 1613, in which is included the highly esteemed *Tactica* of the Emperor Leo.

Of more significance as showing that Milton's interest in these matters was technical as well as antiquarian and as furnishing sources of his knowledge of the actual practice of war in his own day is the evidence of his acquaintance with two of the outstanding modern treatises on military science, Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra*, and Robert Ward's *Animadversions of Warre*. The *Arte* of Machiavelli, originally published about 1520, had become both because of the reputation of its author and because of its intrinsic excellence the most highly respected military document of the Renaissance. Rendered accessible in numerous reprints and translated into English by Peter Whitehorne in 1560, it continued long in use as a text-book. The interest of Machiavelli is in the organization and training of a national as opposed to a mercenary army. He looked to the creation of a military body possessed of the skill and animated by something like the spirit of Cromwell's Ironsides. Though not himself a soldier he had studied carefully the military works of the ancients and as a responsible official in the Florentine camp before Pisa he had seen some fighting, with the result that he had acquired a surprising knowledge, not only of the broad philosophy of success in arms, but of the technical detail as well. The work is one which would have commended itself to Milton by its style, its learning and its primary concern with questions of

morale and discipline. He twice cites it in the *Commonplace Book*,⁵ and there can be little doubt that the principles and details set forth in it with such clarity and force contributed in an important way to his technical knowledge of the subject. Contemporary editions of the *Arte*, in common with most of the other military works ancient and modern published in the later Renaissance, contained an abundance of diagrams and pictures. In one large design reproduced in Whitehorne's translation, presumably from some Italian edition, there is represented stretched out over a wide and varied landscape the whole panoply of war: great masses of infantry and cavalry, marching in columns and engaged in evolutions, with forests of spears and pennons, the confused activity of the camp, wagons, impedimenta, artillery, castles—in one corner a scene representing the execution of a traitor, and out on the distant battle front the actual clash of arms. The whole is well calculated not only to make clear the descriptions in the text, but vividly to impress the imagination as well. Milton may or may not have seen this particular design,⁶ but he certainly saw others similar to it.

In connection with this work mention should be made of Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, which Milton also read with care as is shown by the presence of numerous notes based on it in the *Commonplace Book*. The second and third sections of the *Discorsi* are primarily devoted to the subject of war and a majority of Milton's quotations from them concern matters of military technique and policy, as for example the statements set down on page 242 regarding the value of fortresses, the advantages of the offensive, and the superiority of foot to horse.

The other modern treatise cited by Milton in the *Commonplace Book* is deserving of more detailed consideration. I am not aware that it has previously been mentioned in connection with Milton.⁷

⁵ *Commonplace Book*, pp. 177 and 182. Both entries deal with questions of statecraft rather than of military science proper.

⁶ Milton's citations in the *Commonplace Book* are to a one-volume edition of Machiavelli's works which contains no diagrams: *Tutte le opere di Nicolo Machiavelli cittadino e segretario Fiorentino*, 1550.

⁷ Milton cites the work simply as "Ward. militar. Sect. 7," on page 18 of the *Commonplace Book* under the heading "De Fortitudine." Horwood, the editor of the *Commonplace Book*, apparently could not identify the reference; at least he omits Ward's volume in his list of authors cited by

The full title is as follows: "Animadversion of Warre, or A Militarie Magazine of the Truest Rules, and Ablest Instructions for the Managing of Warre, Composed of the most Refined Discipline and Choice Experiments that these late Netherlandish and Swedish Warres have Produced, with divers new inventions, both of Fortifications and Strategems, as also Sundry Collections taken out of the most approved Authors, ancient and modern, either in Greek, Latine, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, or English. In Two Books by Robert Ward, Gentleman and Commander, London. Printed by Francis Egglefield at the Sign of the Marigold in Paul's Churchyard, 1639." * Comprehensive as this description is it is not more so than the book itself. It is indeed a military magazine, supplied with all conceivable varieties of the munitions of those days. Though overlooked by students of literature its value has long been recognized by the military historians and antiquaries. Cockle in his military bibliography describes it as the outstanding book of reference on nearly all branches of the military art, drawn from the best sources available and enriched by many excellent observations of the author. Aside from its technical and historical importance, however, Ward's work deserves a place in the annals of seventeenth century prose. The author writes in the capacity of a cultivated and learned gentleman as well as in that of skilled commander, and he has imparted to his treatise a decided literary and philosophical flavor. Several elegant dedicatory epistles to King Charles and others are followed by a seemly Latin poem entitled "Excertatus Sacer in XI Legiones et Lectiones ordinatus," by Ben Lowes, Turmae Equestris Praefectus, and then by some English verses "To our Countrymen in Foreign Service," of which the following may stand as a sample:

Milton, p. 64. The fact perhaps accounts for the failure of subsequent commentators to make use of so admirable an illustrative document in editions of Milton's works.

* Copies of this work are rather rare. The one in the Library of Harvard College, which I have used, was purchased in 1646 by Robert Keayne of Boston, founder of the ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. Sold by his widow in 1656, it passed through the hands of John Leverett, President of Harvard College, whose signature on the fly leaf bears the date 1682, Edward Wigglesworth, first Hollis professor of Divinity, and the Rev. John Andrews of Newburyport, who donated it to Harvard Library in 1835.

Heere, may you fight by Booke, and never bleede:
Behold a wall blown up, and yet no Breach:
And hear the neighing of a still-borne steede:
And startle at an engrav'n canon's speeche.

Ward begins like all good warriors with the praise of peace, but he passes quickly to the inevitability of war, descanting rather loftily on the theme of the mutability of kingdoms. In the second section he discusses the means and provisions of war—victuals, weapons, shipping, and soldiers—inveighing against the inefficiency of the English train bands and painting a vivid picture of the unsoldierly character of the musters. Section III presents the elements of geometry, with a thorough and technical discussion of fortifications, artillery, and mines; sections VII-IX contain a fine treatment of the subject of morale and an analysis of valor and cowardice. There follow elaborate explanations of the duties of each particular office and of the regulations of drill, a discourse of “politique strategems” after the model of Frontinus and Polyænus (some of the instances are classical and threadbare, others new), and finally a detailed and curious description of all manner of engines and warlike implements. Book II is devoted to the office of general, with aphorisms drawn from Machiavelli and others, rules of march and camp, and descriptions of the various battle formations. The volume is profusely illustrated with useful diagrams and alluring prints and the text abounds in passages of genuine eloquence.

I have dwelt at some length on the characteristics of this work of Ward's because it is precisely the combination contained in it of scholarly thoroughness with philosophic breadth and largeness of utterance which would, I think, have particularly attracted Milton. He cites in the *Commonplace Book* but a single passage, but this is a characteristic and significant one: “the cause of valor a good conscience, for an evil conscience, as an English author noteth well, will otherwise knaw at the roots of valour like a worme and undermine all resolutions.” The whole section in which this passage is included is one which would have commended itself to Milton's way of thought. The soldiers' obedience, valor, and desert are grounded, says Ward, on the principle of showing their magnanimity to the utmost in the defense of religion, king, and country, and learning with their best endeavor the military art. To fear God and keep one's powder dry is the whole duty of the man of

war. It would have been with melancholy but not unsympathetic feelings that Milton read Ward's noble passage in praise of loyalty to the sovereign.

No kingdom so fortunate and happy as those where obedience flows in a clear stream; so far from the power of gusts and storms that gentle calms are perpetuated to times, and all seasons are as Halcyon days; when subjects of all conditions and in all respects sympathize with their sovereign in authority to his lawful behests and commands, as the shadow imitates the body, or as the parts of the body are ready bent to observe and execute the pleasures and intents of the heart and faculties of the mind.

One other quotation from the same part of the work may be given as an illustration of Ward's style and temper.

If one should but draw examples of obedience from the creatures, and observe how in all things they stand conformable and obedient to the laws of nature; how the great unruly ocean observes the course of the moon in bringing in her tides, the massie earth waits the time and pleasure of the sun's revolution, to yield up the fruit and hidden treasures contained in her bowells to the uttermost of her powers, all creatures, both vegetative and sensitive, are precise and ready bent in all obedience when nature enjoins; and yet man, a rational creature, most obstinate and heterogenial in his duty, loyalty, and obedience to his superiors, which nature doth not only challenge as a right, but God claims it as his due. And how silly are men above all other creatures in making provision for their safety. Their is no creature but nature hath armed it with some defensive weapon, not so much but the poor bee hath his pike, which most valiantly and skillfully he can use for his defense and preservation. But the times we live in are such that we have neither will nor skill, but we refer all to a general Providence, thinking it sufficient if they be roughcast with riches and prosperity.

Here are ideas which would certainly have interested Milton and accorded with his general philosophy. His specific indebtedness to Ward will be discussed in the second section of this paper. I am concerned at present only to show that Milton must have found the work not unworthy of his attention, and that in reading it he was brought into contact with the best that was known of military science in his own day, both in its technical and philosophic aspects.

There were, of course, many other English works which dealt with the theory and practice of arms. With some of these certainly and with many others very probably Milton had familiarized himself. Of the older treatises we know from a note in the Common-

place Book that he had read the *Toxophilus* of Roger Ascham. He could hardly have missed seeing the contemporary publications which proceeded from the press with ever-increasing rapidity as the nation drew on toward the civil war. Fifty-seven titles of English works purely military in character are listed by Cockle as appearing between the years 1626 and 1642, eleven of them being published in the latter year alone. One of these, John Cruso's *Military Instructions for the Cavalry*, containing some fine pictures of horse formations, had been issued at Cambridge in the last year of Milton's residence there, 1632. Milton is likely enough also to have read Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman*, published in many editions throughout his lifetime, with its chapters devoted to military discipline and the regulations of drill.

Such, then, are the sources from which Milton derived his textbook knowledge of the art of war. It may now be questioned whether he made any effort or enjoyed any opportunity to gain practical experience in arms, or whether the whole subject remained for him an academic one, included in his comprehensive program of study partly because a sound classical and humanistic scholarship demanded it, partly because he felt that his projected poetry might involve it, and above all because such knowledge was a necessary part of the equipment of one who planned to play a part of statesmanly leadership in the public affairs of his own time. In spite of all Masson has said there is not a particle of valid evidence that Milton ever underwent military training whether under Skippon at the beginning of the civil war or earlier during his school and college life. I cannot find that there was any such organization at St. Paul's as Milton projected for his own academy. At Oxford, in the crisis of 1642, there was, we know, a flare-up of military enthusiasm and the scholars deserted their books to "train up and down the streets" in preparation for the service of the king.⁹ But we hear nothing of any military feature at either university in the years of Milton's residence. In the trained bands, maintenance of which in city and country was required by law during the reign of Charles I, men of Milton's status were not expected to serve except as officers. There would seem to be little likelihood of his ever having appeared in Buckinghamshire during

⁹ Anthony Cooper, *Strategmata*, 1662, quoted by C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 21.

the Horton period at one of the drunken musters described by Ward. By 1642 the military situation had become very different. In the city, indeed, there had long been a more vigorous interest in military preparation among the citizens. Little societies had been in the habit of meeting in the Artillery Garden in St. Martin's Fields to practice their drill under expert soldiers hired to instruct them, and the men thus taught became in their turn officers of the trained bands.¹⁰ Milton may, of course, have served his apprenticeship in arms in some such way as this, but there is no proof that he did so. In the activity which began with the outbreak of hostilities I think it extremely unlikely that he had any part. The rank and file of those at first engaged in drilling were, as is well known, men of very different character from Milton and his associates. Essex's army was in large part composed of city apprentices and country laborers—"decayed serving-men and unjust tapsters," as Cromwell remarked to Hampton. Even in the New Model the majority of the troopers are said to have been unable to write their names. It was not expected that gentlemen should serve in the capacity of private. Thus the Parliamentary impressment order of August 16, 1643, exempted clergymen, scholars, students in the Inns of Court and the universities, the sons of esquires, and persons rated at five pounds goods or three pounds lands in the subsidy books. For officers there was no lack of experienced men on either side from among the thousands of Englishmen who had seen service with the Dutch or the reformed princes of Germany, or from among the London citizens who had acquired military experience at home.

There remains the passage from the *Apology for Smectymnuus* cited by Masson as evidence that Milton was drilling in the year 1642. Milton is defending himself against the charge that his days and nights are spent in dissipation.

These morning haunts are where they should be,—at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring,—in winter often ere the sound of any bell awaken men to labour or devotion, in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier,—to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary or memory have its full fraught; then with useful and generous labours preserving the body's health and hardiness, to render lightsome, clear, and

¹⁰ C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*.

lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of Religion and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than see the ruin of our Protestantism and the enforcement of a slavish life.¹¹

"This is interesting," says Masson. "Milton, it seems, has for some time been practicing drill." Obviously he has been doing nothing of the sort. He has been simply taking exercise, his life-long habit, as a relief from study and to preserve his health for the kind of service which he was then rendering and which he was later to render in his country's cause. Had he been under arms he would certainly have said so explicitly, either in this passage or in the later reviews of his creditable activities. The fact is that Milton had early concluded that the part he was to play in life was one which very definitely excluded the activity of camp or field. He carefully distinguished in his thought another soldiery and marked it from the beginning for his own.

For I did not so much shun the labours and dangers of military service as not, in another fashion, both to do work for my countrymen of a more useful kind. . . . Having from my earliest youth been devoted in a far more than ordinary degree to the higher studies, and having always been stronger mentally than in body, I disregarded camp-service, in which any common soldier of more robust frame could easily have been my superior and got means about me to the use of which I was more competent, so that I might in what I thought my own better and more effective, or at least not inferior way, be an acquisition of as much momentum as possible to the needs of my country and to this most excellent cause.¹²

This is as plain a statement as could possibly be desired. It implies not merely that Milton did not actually serve in the Parliamentary wars, but that he never intended or prepared to do so. In estimating the reasons for this decision we must give due weight to what he says of his physical condition as well as to the kind of reflection which made moral and intellectual service seem of equal or superior dignity and value to that of arms. We know, for example, not only that Milton was under middle height, but that he was weak in eyesight, that he had been subject to headaches from his youth, and that he suffered frequent illnesses throughout his life.¹³ He was not at the time in question necessarily unfit for

¹¹ Masson, II, 402.

¹² *Second Defense*, Masson II, 487.

¹³ Cf. *Epistle XI*: "First, the delay was occasioned by ill health, whose disabilities I have now perpetually to combat; next by a cause of ill health,

military service, but he was doubtless quite right in thinking that he would have been of little value as a fighter. I am quite persuaded, therefore, that Milton did not turn out with pike and musket in 1642, nor do I feel that his failure to do so needs any further explanation or defense than he has made for himself. As to the Turnham Green sonnet, the tone of which has been a stumbling block to some biographers, it is necessary only to understand the poem in order to divest it entirely of the sort of biographical significance which has been attached to it. Of course Milton did not post it on his door, but neither did he write it as a jest in the response to the banter of his friends. The possibility of identifying his own situation with that of Pindar awoke his imagination and resulted in an utterance of purely artistic significance. It is the poet in him who is speaking, with the poet's oblivion of everything except the immediate conception of his mind.

If, however, Milton was in all probability unacquainted with the practice of soldiership from actual experience it is not quite accurate to say that his sources of knowledge were wholly academic. On the one hand the physical recreations of a gentleman of Milton's time were much more than at present associated with arms. The very theory of sport, inherited from the Middle Ages and confirmed by the classics, was that it should constitute a preliminary training for military service,¹⁴ and this idea was firmly held by Milton. For the physical exercise of his academy he recommends in *Of Education* "first, the exact use of their weapon, to guard, and strike safely with edge or point, as a means of making students healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage." Here we know that Milton had practiced what he preached. "I was wont," he says in the *Second Defense*, "constantly to exercise myself in the use of the broadsword, as long as comported with my habit and years. Armed

necessary and sudden removal to another house." Stomach trouble accompanied his disease of the eyes. Cf. *Epist.* xv. A severe sickness had preceded the writing of the *Defensio*. See introductory paragraphs of that work.

¹⁴ Compare Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, Chap. xvi, where various exercises, as tilting, running, swimming, shooting, hunting, are commended as a means of enabling the nobility for command and the service of their country. Precedents are cited from Cicero, Sallust, Cæsar and other ancient writers.

with this weapon as I usually was I should have thought myself quite a match for anyone, though much stronger than myself." The image of Milton practicing the young Philippses in the art of self-defense is a very pleasant one which it is surprising that Masson had not expatiated on. He had doubtless been taught fencing by some London master or at one of the fencing schools in the university,¹⁵ and this instruction involved a certain amount of training equivalent to drill. A statement of Toland suggests that he had been taught the use of other weapons as well, though it may simply be a generalization from the passage quoted. "His recreation before his sight was gone consisted much in feats of activity, particularly in the exercise of his arms, which he could handle with much dexterity." Milton's interest in Ascham's *Toxophilus* suggests that he may have practiced archery, an art recommended by Ascham primarily for its military value and not wholly obsolete for practical purposes in Milton's time. This was perhaps the sum of Milton's actual experience in arms, but it was enough when amended by the imagination, to give the art of war a certain reality in his consciousness which it would not otherwise have had. We must remember, also, that the atmosphere of Milton's mature years was charged with the intensest interest in military matters. The preparations of the Parliamentary forces must have met his attention on every side and he must have heard constant discussions of the progress of the war. Later he was associated with many of those who had been leaders in the struggle. His acquaintance with soldiers like Sir Henry Vane would have given him opportunity to learn at first hand of the operations of the civil war. In a time of actual warfare even the civilian who is deeply concerned in the outcome is infused with the martial spirit and may speak as familiarly of

Sallies and retires, of trenches, tents,
Of palisadoes, frontiers, parapets

as if they were his special province. These considerations should prepare us for almost any amount of military technicality in Milton's works without resorting to Masson's unfounded suppositions.

Before entering upon the discussion of this subject I wish to

¹⁵ Cf. Earle, *Microcosmographia*, xxv, *A Young Gentleman of the University*. "His father sent him thither because he heard that there were the best fencing and dancing schools."

consider for a moment. Philips's surprising statement that there was at one time a project on foot to make Milton an adjutant general in Sir William Waller's army. I am far from certain that this should be so promptly dismissed as it was by Johnson and has been by all subsequent biographers. Philips is, to be sure, somewhat guarded in his statement but he gives details which it is hard to believe he deliberately fabricated. He says that the practice of Milton's design of founding an academy according to the model laid down in the tractate *Of Education* was afterwards diverted by a series of alterations in public affairs. "For I am much mistaken if there were not about this time a design in agitation of making him adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army. But the new modelling of the army soon following proved an obstacle; and Sir William, his commission being laid down, began as the common saying is, to turn cat in pan." The chronology here is right enough. Milton's tractate was published in 1644; the self-denying ordinance deprived Waller of his command in February, 1645; and the New Model was created immediately afterwards. The grounds on which Masson rejects the possibility of such a thing are the inexperience of Milton and his manifest unfitness for an important military office. But it is by no means clear precisely what the term adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army implied. No adjutants whatsoever are mentioned in the complete Parliamentary army lists of 1642. Such officers appear sporadically in the later organizations with duties rather ill defined. In the New Model the adjutant-general or general adjutant was an assistant to the commander of the cavalry, a superior aide-de-camp. "The Swedish Intelligencer" ¹⁶ speaks of the office in the following terms:

The General adjutant, that was Leiftenant to the Commissary [i. e. the chief officers of horse—not a commissary in the modern sense] was the Leiftenant Colonel to his regiment. The General adjutant's office, is to be assistant to the Generall: That is to be sent abroad for the giving or speeding of the Generall's commands to the rest of the armie. He is commonly some able man, or some favorite at least unto the Generall. His place in the Armie, is that of a Leiftenant Colonel; of whom he hath precedence, but is behind all Colonels. A General-adjutant is the same officer which in our English discipline wee call a corporal of the field. The French call him an aide-de-camp.

Under the terms of this description there is a conceivable place

¹⁶ Quoted by Firth, *Cromwell's Army*.

for a man like Milton. But it seems more likely that Philips is using the expression to describe some important semi-civilian function on the general staff, and is dignifying it with a well sounding title. Among the officers listed as belonging to the General's train in Essex's army there are the following: Treasurer at Warres, Muster Master General, Advocate of the Army, Secretary of the Army, Auditor of the Army. Is it not possible that Milton's services and known devotion to the Parliamentary cause might have been thought to entitle him to some such appointment? His purely academic learning, his knowledge of languages, the laws of war, historical precedent, and even, theoretically, of strategy and tactics, would have constituted qualifications of no mean order for purposes secretarial, advisory, or administrative which did not involve active participation in battle. While hesitating, therefore, to accept Philip's statement at its face value I am inclined to give it some weight; in any case in any case I should reverse Masson's conclusion that the tradition of a proposal to bring Milton in some capacity into the army of Sir William Waller is far less credible than that he should have been found serving at first in one of the regiments of the London train bands.

II

If it were possible to reason that a man must at some time have had actual military experience on the ground that he displays in his writings a competent and even a technical knowledge of the works of war, one would have little difficulty in establishing a case for Milton. The data is, indeed, much more extensive than Masson apparently realized. Much of the battle language which animates the utterance of Milton may, of course, be ascribed to the tradition Christian habit, founded on scripture, of applying terms of physical conflict to the realm of the spirit. Beyond this, however, Milton frequently in the course of ordinary speech slips into military phraseology of a more exceptional character. This is especially apt to occur when he is speaking of the operations of the mind in acquiring or defending truth. "Militaire men," he says in illustrating a point in *The Rennie and Easie Way*, "hold it dangerous to change the form of battle in view of the enemy." Elsewhere he speaks of awaiting an opponent "at his foragings and waterings," of uniting "as those smaller squares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx," of the "small divided mani-

ples" of the Protestant sectaries in their combined attack on the Church of Rome "cutting through his ill-united unwieldy brigade." Sometimes the military figure is elaborately developed, as in the following from *Of Education*:

In which methodical course it is so supposed that they [the students] must proceed by the steady pace of learning onward, as at convenient times, for memory's sake, to retire back into the middle ward, and some times in the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirmed and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the embattling of a Roman legion.

Or in this memorable passage from the *Areopagitica*:

When a man hath been laboring the hardest labor in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battle ranged, scattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponent then to skulk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valor enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of Truth.

It is not, however, to such casual outcroppings of Milton's familiarity with the language of strategy and tactics, themselves a manifestation of the habit of technical expression characteristic of seventeenth century prose and poetry, that we must look for the really significant results of his studies in the art of war. Motivated, as I have said, by the intellectual and cultural tradition of the Renaissance and stimulated by the particular circumstances of the Puritan period, these studies had for Milton in his capacity as a public servant, as an interpreter of the events of his own time, as a historical scholar, and as a poet a very special and highly important object. On the one hand his understanding of military detail enabled him to follow the military history of the Commonwealth, to deal with former campaigns not as an amateur but as an expert, and finally to work into *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* a body of military minutiae calculated to make them not less competent in this respect than the epics of antiquity. On the other hand the study of war in its large significance as a phase of human history merged with the general political, moral and philosophic interests of Milton and strengthened his grasp on the fundamental issues with which he was concerned both as a statesman

and as a poet. This last aspect of the subject is involved in the general topic of Milton's philosophy and statesmanship, which is too comprehensive to admit of treatment here. What I propose to do is simply to approach the military elements in Milton's work from the standpoint of military science proper, illustrating them by reference to the sources from which they are derived. It is the poetry which primarily concerns us, but a preliminary glance may be taken as a prose work too much neglected in the estimate of Milton's accomplishment, the unfinished *History of Britain*.

It is a significant fact that Milton, while considerably reducing the legendary element in his story, however picturesque, endeavors to give as nearly complete an account as possible of all the battles and campaigns. The following passage describing the battle of the Romans under Agricola with the British at Mons Grampius illustrates his occasional minute handling of military detail.

But first he orders them on this sort: Of eight thousand auxilliary foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings three thousand horse, the legions as a reserve, stood in array before the camp; either to seize the victory won without their own hazard, or to keep up the battle if it should need. The British powers on the hillside, as might best serve for show or terror, stood in their battallions; the first on even ground, the next rising behind, as the hill ascended. Agricola doubting to be overwinged, stretches out his front, though somewhat of the thinnest, in so much that many advised to bring up the legions: Yet he, not altering, alights from his horse, and stands on foot before the ensigns. The fight began aloof . . . etc.

The whole account is taken almost literally from Tacitus (*Agricola*, 36), the significance of Milton's handling lying in his incorporation of it *in toto*, and of his comprehension of the points of strategy involved. In one instance he abbreviates an expression of Tacitus "veritus ne in frontem simul et latera pugnaretur" by translating it into more technical terminology, "fearing to be overwinged." Equally explicit is the long narrative of Caesar's conquest (188 ff.), which is reproduced from the Commentaries with a full account not only of the actual fighting but of the marches, military constructions, and manoeuverings on land and sea as well. For the campaigns not reported by the Roman historians the materials available to Milton were scanty and his accounts are correspondingly so. There can, however, be no doubt that had the history been continued to a period for which definite data were to be had,

the military feature would have bulked very large indeed. It is clear also that Milton would have handled the wars of his countrymen, not after the fashion of romance, but in the scientific spirit of Xenophon or Caesar. He had aimed to write history as he had read it, and to embody in his work the lessons of experience from all fields of public activity. We have already seen how in the *Commonplace Book* he recorded among the memorabilia from his historical reading principles and exempla strictly military in character, along with those of general political and moral significance. These notes may serve to guide us in defining the purposes of the *History of Britain* and in estimating the emphasis which would have been given to various aspects of the subject.

We are now in a position to understand more exactly the significance of the military elements incorporated in the poems. They occupy, to be sure, a subordinate place in Milton's carefully thought out schemes of values, as he himself suggests in the invocation to Book IX of *Paradise Lost*, describing himself as one

Not sedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deemed, chief maistrie to dissect
With long and tedious havoc fabled knights
In battles feigned (the better fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unsung), or to describe races and games,
Or tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,
Impreses quaint, caparisons and steeds;
Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
At joust and tournament.

The passage is expressive of Milton's dissatisfaction with a purely chivalric and fictitious subject matter and of his sense of the superior significance of spiritual as compared with material issues. In spite of this, however, he found himself much concerned with the lower argument of physical arms and battles, and his attitude toward this material was by no means one of indifference. On the one hand it called forth his powers of pictorial imagination, while on the other it gave him an opportunity to introduce the expert knowledge which he had won by scholarly study and observation of the art of war. The result in *Paradise Lost* is an odd but on the whole successful mixture of romance and science.

The first passage of importance in this connection is the one

quoted and analyzed by Masson describing the assemblage of the Satanic hosts on the shore of the burning lake. (*P. L.*, I, 530-787). The main elements in this description are purely literary and imaginative. In elaborating his picture in its larger aspects Milton has evidently laid under contribution not only material visualized from epic and romance but his recollections of the actual pageantry of war, as he had read of it in history and seen it in the embattled armies of his own time. Thus we have such universal and poetic images as the unfurling of the imperial ensign at the war-like sound of clarion and trumpet, the forest huge of spears and thronging helms, the shout that tore Hell's concave, the waving of ten thousand banners in the air. But Milton has not rested content with these generalities. He has endeavored to give the picture a more specific martial coloring by introducing touches of archeological detail and by discreetly mingling the technical terminology of ancient and of modern war. The shields are "serried," i. e. interlocked as in the Greek and Roman battle formations; the troops move forward in perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood of flutes and soft recorders, the last detail being adopted from the classical descriptions of the use of these instruments for battle music among the Greeks.¹⁷

Then they stand "a horrid front, with ordered spear and shield" (compare the command "Order your arms," to be found in all the English text-books) before their chief who

through the armed files
Darts his experienced eye, and soon traverse
The whole battallion views.

Finally, as he prepares to speak,

their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half enclose him round.

A second suggestive passage (*P. L.*, IV, 766-789), also cited by Masson is the description of the angelic night-watch about the Garden. Milton has made Gabriel send out a scouting expedition in two detachments with perfect military precision, sharpening the

¹⁷ Xen. *Cyrop.* lib. 7, 178 A: Aelian, cap. XI etc. Cf. the discussion of Synapsmos in the English translation of the *Tactics* by John Cruso, 1616, p. 81.

epic particularity of the account by working in numerous technical though familiar terms applicable to such a manoeuver:

“Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south
With strictest watch; these other wheel the north;
Our circuit meets full west.” As flame they part,
Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear.

So saying, on he led his radiant files.

The two units meet and “closing,” stand “in squadron joined.”
Face to face with Satan,

the angelic squadron bright
Turned fiery red, sharpening in mooned horns
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
With ported spears.

In his commentary on these passages Masson is quite right in insisting on the exactness of Milton's language. In one point, indeed the poet is more exact than the biographer. The phrase “with ported spears” Masson and subsequent commentators describe as if it were the equivalent of the modern “port arms,” which would be inappropriate. The military books which Milton read give it correctly as the position intermediate between “carry” and “charge,” the point of the lance or pike being held directly forward, with the shaft at an angle of 45 degrees.¹⁸ There is, I think, one other error in Masson's exposition. He supposes the word “attention” in “Attention held them mute” to be used by Milton in the sense of the modern command. The word appears, however, in Milton's day to have been “Silence.” At least, I do not find “Attention” in the orders of drill in any of the text-books. Finally, there is nothing in the first passage quoted to justify Masson's inference that the Satanic hosts order their arms at the moment of halting without word of command. These, however, are trifling points. The passages do imply, as Masson says, a considerable amount of detailed knowledge of military methods. But their significance is obscured if we labor to find in them proof that Milton had himself at one time been a soldier. His evolutions and

¹⁸ “This posture is performed by holding the pike a half distance between advancing and charging. . . . It is the most aptest and comliest posture for a company to use in marching through a port or gate, and most readiest for to charge upon a sudden.” Ward, *Animadversions*, 224.

terminology are exact because he intended that they should be so. It is entirely unnecessary to assume practical experiences on his part in order to account for any technicalities we find in *Paradise Lost*. The orders of drill are given and defined in every English handbook, often with illustrations which make them clear at a glance. The various postures of pike and musket are described with special minuteness by Ward, and it is to such sources, supplemented by observation, that we may confidently assign Milton's knowledge of the modern detail in the above passages. His hold on this material rests on exactly the same basis as his accurate information regarding ancient discipline with which he intersperses it. Thus the expression "mooned horns" is, of course, the Greek, Roman and Italian but not the English military term, and the line "half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear" echoes the Latin and Greek terminology "ad scutum," "ad hastam" for right and left wheel. Ælian explains these evolutions in detail, giving the classical terms, which his English commentator converts into English as follows: "Battle wheel to the pike; battle wheel to the target." The actual contemporary command, as rendered by Ward, was "Wheel your battle to the right; wheel your battle to the left."

Material analogous to that already cited is to be found in *Paradise Lost* wherever the movements of embattled hosts are mentioned. The most extensive illustration of the composite character of Milton's materials and of the real purpose for which he marshals them is to be found in the narrative of the war in Heaven. The foundation of this narrative is the Homeric battle, with its episodes of single combat and its atmosphere of individual great deeds. But Milton must have realized that in his handling of this material he would from the viewpoint of mere narrative interest fare but ill in comparison with his originals. He would have been as quick as anyone to see that the inequality of the combatants and the impossibility of killing anybody must necessarily rob the conflict of all element of suspense and make the clash of titanic opposites less thrilling, despite his best endeavor, than the conflict of two mortal heroes, fighting with poor human javelins, in the *Iliad*. To remedy this defect he has centered attention on the military spectacle and on the idea, and in elaborating his story he has, as before, combined the most striking and characteristic features of ancient, mediæval, and modern war.

First Abdiel, returning to the loyal angels, finds them full of martial preparations:

When all the plain
Covered with thick embattled squadrons bright,
Chariots, and flaming arms and fiery steeds,
Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view.

The element of discipline is strongly accented in the description.

At which command the Powers Militant
That stood for Heaven, in mighty quadrate joined
Of union irresistible, moved on
In silence their bright legions to the sound
Of instrumental harmony, that breathed
Heroic ardour to adventurous deeds
Under their godlike leaders, in the cause
Of God and his Messiah. On they move
Indissolubly firm; nor obvious hill,
Nor straitening vale, nor wood, nor stream, divides
Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground
Their march was, and the passive air upbore
Their nimble tread.

Milton very obviously has here in mind the trained armies of civilized warfare in antiquity and in his own time. The picture of the rebel host, on the other hand, is colored with the hues and trappings of mediæval chivalry:

and, nearer view,
Bristled with upright beams innumerable
Of rigid spears, and helmets thronged, and shields
Various, with boastful argument portrayed.

What follows is Homeric, chiefly, but Milton continues to present through a series of incidental touches just so much of the theory and practice of modern systematic war as was necessary to satisfy his purpose of making this an integral element in the conception. Thus the following lines are designed to suggest the harmony of individual initiative and automatic discipline which Milton had been taught to recognize as characteristic of the ideally trained fighter:

Led in fight, yet leader seemed
Each warrior single as in chief; expert
When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
Of battle, open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war.

The image of orderly battallions in battle formation is constantly kept before us.

While others bore him on their shields
Back to his chariot, where it stood retired
From off the files of war.

.
Far otherwise the inviolable saints
In cubic phalanx firm advanced entire,
Invulnerable, impenetrably armed.

The day's fighting concludes when

On the foughten field
Michael and his angels prevalent,
Encamping, placed in guard their watches round,
Cherubic waving fires,

a picture suggestive of a passage in the *Iliad* but equally applicable to historic war.

The second battle, in the description of which Milton repeats none of the elements thus far introduced, contains the much maligned episode of the invention and first use of artillery, and here we have an even more characteristic evidence of the poet's determination to modernize and make universally representative the war in Heaven. In the description of the novel weapon he skillfully adapts his scientific knowledge to the purposes of poetry.

These in their dark nativity the Deep
Shall yield us, pregnant with infernal flame;
Which into hollow engines long and round
Thick rammed, at the other bore with touch of fire
Dilated and infuriate, shall send forth
From far, with thundering noise, among our foe
Such implements of mischief as shall dash
To pieces and o'erwhelm whatever stands
Adverse.

The same method is followed in the account of the preparation of the guns and powder. And finally the firing of the pieces is described with full consciousness of the actual technique of artillery working in connection with infantry in contemporary war. At Zophiel's command the loyal angels move on embattled,

when, behold,
Not distant far, with heavy pace the foe
Approaching gross and huge, in hollow cube

Training his devilish enginery, impaled
On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,
To hide the fraud.

At the order "Vanguard, to right and left your front unfold," epic language for "Wheel off your front by divisions,"¹⁹ the cannon are unmasked.

A triple mounted row of pillars laid
On wheels (for like to pillars most they seemed,
Or hollowed bodies made of oak or fir,
With branches lopped, in wood or mountain felled)
Brass, iron, stony mould, had not their mouths
With hideous orifice gaped on us wide,
Portending hollow truce. At each, behind,
A seraph stood, and in his hand a reed
Stood waving tipped with fire; while we, suspense,
Collected stood within our thoughts amused.
Not long! for sudden all at once their reeds
Put forth, and to a narrow vent applied
With nicest touch. Immediate in flame,
But soon obscured with smoke, all Heaven appeared,
From those deep throated engines belched, whose roar
Embowelled with outrageous noise the air,
And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
Their devilish glut, chained thunderbolts and hail
Of iron globes.

.
Foul dissipation followed and forced rout;
Nor served it to relax their serried files.

Here if anywhere we should be able to trace Milton's indebtedness to his military sources. As a matter of fact we find in Ward, not only all the necessary technical information regarding artillery itself, but also an account of substantially the evolution here described, with an accompanying diagram (reproduced herewith; see frontispiece). Chapter XVI of the second book is entitled "A fifth way of Imbattling an Army consisting of twelve thousand Foot and four thousand Horse, the Ordinance being placed covertly in the midst and also on the wings." The first part of the analysis in the text is as follows:

¹⁹ Cf. Ward, p. 225: "This motion is easy to be performed, for all the file leaders on the right flank are to wheel about to the right, the rest of each file following their leaders; the file leaders likewise to the left flank are to wheel about to the left and then join or close their divisions."

In this first figure following you may perceive at the letter A, four hundred shot [i. e. musketeers] upon either flank before the main battle; these are to surprise the enemy's ordinance which is supposed to be planted upon a hill; further you may observe sixteen batallias, the ordinance being planted in the main battle between the divisions thereof, having four hundred musketiers ordered before them, and by them obscured; and as soon as the enemy is approached within distance, those musketiers are to divide themselves on either hand, so that the shot [i. e. cannon balls] may have free passage to disorder the enemy's troops, upon which advantage the other batallias are to advance forwards, and seriously to charge the enemy in his disorders.

Of the actual employment of this evolution we have an account in Wilson's *Life of James I*, London, 1653 (p. 140. Cited by Keightley, *Paradise Lost*, p. 441):

Anhalt used a more real stratagem that took effect. He brought his ordinance up behind his men invisibly, loaden with musquet-ball; and, when they should have charged the enemy, made them wheel off, that those bloody engines might break their ranks, which they performed to purpose, and forced them to retire into a wood, where, pursuing their advantage, they scattered their main body.

In view, however, of Milton's acquaintance with Ward's volume we may assume that he adopted from it the fundamental plan of Satan's diabolical assault on the courageous but old-fashioned army of the saints of Heaven.

In order fully to estimate Milton's reasons for introducing the artillery episode into *Paradise Lost* it is necessary to consider it, not as an isolated piece of sensationalism, a more than questionable artistic tour de force, nor yet simply as an epic convention of the Renaissance, but in its relation to the total conception of Book vi and indeed of the poem as a whole. The underlying idea of Milton's treatment of the conflict in Heaven is that it should be an epitome of war in general, or rather the archetype of war, according to the Platonic conception expressed by Raphael in his preliminary address to Adam, in which it is suggested that earth is but the shadow of Heaven, "and things therein each to other like more than on Earth is thought." In order to represent this conception to the imagination he had at the same time to be typical and concrete. Thus in describing the cannon he refuses equally to make them of any one particular metal or to leave them of no metal at all. He says they are "brass, iron, stony mould."

And the same method is reproduced in the larger features of the narrative. In defiance of archæological consistency Milton has combined in the picture the characteristic detail of all the great types of warfare among men, fusing them into a large unity of impression which is not the least of his imaginative achievements. Even the primitive combat of the titans is represented, when both armies finally desert their discipline and abandoning civilized arms hurl confusedly at each other whatever crude missiles come to hand. Milton meant to suggest that the last end of war is like its beginning, bestial, anarchic, inconclusive. The utmost refinements of scientific slaughter are but a mask of chaos and can only end in the disruption of the orderly civilization of which they are the product. The significance of the whole is definitely indicated at the close of Book VI, when the Almighty, beholding the confusion, declares that

— War wearied hath performed what war can do,
And to disordered rage let loose the reins,
With mountains, as with weapons, armed; which makes
Wild work in Heaven, and dangerous to the main,

and sends forth the Son in majesty to put an end at once to evil and to strife. In the light of this controlling purpose our consciousness of the artistic improprieties of Book VI tends, I think, to disappear. By employing the legendary framework of a war in Heaven, required by his plot and already established in literary tradition, as a vehicle for a large and not unpoetic philosophical idea Milton brings this portion of *Paradise Lost* into harmony with his conception of the whole and justifies the boast that his song pursues

Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

It should be added that in introducing the use of gunpowder Milton is expressing the current feeling of his time that there was in such a weapon something peculiarly diabolic and unnatural. The Renaissance dislike of firearms on humane and chivalric grounds in comparison with the nobler weapons is suggested by the remark of Hotspur's lordling in *Henry IV*,

And that it was great pity, so it was,
This villanous saltpetre should be digged
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
Which many a good tall fellow had destroyed

So cowardly; and but for these vile guns,
He would himself have been a soldier.

The intrinsic hellishness of the instrument is thus alluded to by W. Neade, inventor of the combination bow and pike. "Amongst all which, Bartholdus Swart, the Franciscan friar, with his most devillish invention of gunpowder, is the most damnable, and from hell itself invented."²⁰ Had Milton written in our own day he would have ascribed to Satan the invention of poison gas.

After the sixth Book, in which the battle in Heaven is concluded, we find no further military details in *Paradise Lost*, though the wars of the Old Testament are incidentally recorded in Michael's prophetic narrative to the repentant Adam. *Samson Agonistes*, while it resounds with the echoes of heroic deeds, is equally devoid of the elements with which we are concerned. The exploits of a giant, assailing his enemies with the jaw-bone of an ass, scarcely come under the category of the art of war. In *Paradise Regained*, on the other hand, Milton introduces material drawn from his special studies in a way which again illustrates their basic importance in the fabric of his poetry. One essential element in his design in the epic of the temptation was the representation of the civilized world in the characteristic aspects which it wore at the beginning of the ministry of Christ. In the course of the second temptation the Savior is carried by Satan to a mountain whence he beholds with sweeping view the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them. As the culmination of the first part of this geographical and historical pageant (III, 298 ff.) attention centers on the Parthians, then engaged in a campaign against the Scythians. The spectacle is one of arms, and Milton sketches swiftly but with precision the Parthian armament and mode of war.

For now the Parthian king
In Ctesiphon hath gathered all his host
Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
Have wasted Sogdiana; to her aid
He marches now in haste. See, though from far,
His thousands, in what martial equipage
They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms,
Of equal dread in flight or in pursuit—
All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;
See how in warlike muster they appear,
In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.

²⁰ *The Double Armed Man*, 1625, p. 85.

Here we see Milton dealing with the cavalry and exhibiting for the first time his text-book knowledge of this field. The line "In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons and wings" is particularly significant, for the poet has chosen, whether correctly or not, to attribute to the Parthians the use of the rather fancy formations described by the Greeks and adopted, at least in theory, by the cavalry of Milton's time. The locus classicus for these formations is Ælian, who explains in detail several varieties of the rhomb and wedge, together with the square, which Milton does not mention here. The Renaissance editions regularly diagram them, and John Cruso's *Militarie Instructions for the Cavalry*, to cite but a single contemporary text, contains fine pictorial representations of these time-honored forms of battle. The half-moon is not described by Ælian as a cavalry formation but as a way of embattling infantry to encounter a rhomb of cavalry. A convex half-moon of foot is also described and pictorially represented. Ward, as a practical soldier, discusses these matters rather briefly. Milton's line presents, with beautiful condensation, the whole pageant of cavalry formation, as his imagination had reconstructed it from the technical descriptions of the authorities.

In the verses which follow the passage just quoted we have an elaboration of the picture into a splendidly comprehensive spectacle of ancient war.

He looked, and saw what numbers numberless
 The city gates outpoured, light-armed troops
 In coats of mail and military pride.
 In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,
 Prauncing their riders bore.

 He saw them in their forms of battle ranged,
 How quick they wheeled, and flying behind them shot
 Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face
 Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight;
 The field all iron cast a gleaming brown.
 Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor, on each horn,
 Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,
 Chariots, or elephants indorsed with towers
 Of archers; nor of labouring pioneers
 A multitude, with spades and axes armed,
 To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
 Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay
 With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke:

Mules after these, camels and dromedaries,
And wagons fraught with utensils of war.

It was with just scholarly discrimination that Milton introduced the military portion of his picture in connection with the rising Parthian power. Having done so he does not return to it except incidentally. The image of Rome is constructed of triumph, architectural splendor, luxury and cosmopolitan imperialism; that of Greece of intellectual and cultural dominion, as was appropriate to the time of which he was writing. But to the Parthian picture he has, against strict archeological probability, transferred the complexity and splendor of Persian, Roman, Carthaginian and Macedonian warfare, making it stand symbolically for the glamor of arms in general, an aspect of earthly glory, which, with all the other enticements—of wealth and power and the pride of human learning—Christ rejects and by rejecting teaches his faithful followers to despise.

In this way, therefore, Milton finds a place even in recounting the triumph of the Prince of Peace, for the introduction of the martial element so firmly fixed in epic tradition.

With this final illustration of the way in which Milton assimilated to the idea of poetry the technical detail given him by his studies in military science, our investigation might perhaps be brought to a close. It is difficult to go further without incurring the risk of vagueness and confusion. Yet there can in general be no question that Milton's consideration of the art of war in the large sense in which it was conceived by the ancients and by the Renaissance, exercised an influence of considerable importance on his broader thinking, entering into his conception of human character and coloring his philosophy of life. It has not, I think, been pointed out that Milton's ideas on the subject of discipline derive something of their quality from the application of this principle in the sphere of arms. "There is not," he remarks in *The Reason of Church Government*, "that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man, than is discipline. What need I instance? He that hath read with judgment of nations and commonwealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, sea and land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all civil societies, all the moments and occasions are moved to and fro upon the axle of discipline. . . . Hence in those

perfect armies of Cyrus in Xenophon and Scipio in the Roman stories, the excellence of military skill was esteemed, not by the not needing, but by the readiest submitting to the edicts of their commander." The quotation suggests that such passages as those already quoted from Robert Ward, together with innumerable illustrations from history, had gone home to him with full effect and had strengthened his hold on a principle which, notwithstanding the rôle which he was called upon to play of rebel against constituted authority, remained an essential element in his thought.

These studies must also have contributed to his reflection on the nature and sources of fortitude. He rejoiced to set down in the Commonplace Book Ward's affirmation that the true cause of valour is a good conscience. He would have exulted, surely, if he had read it, in Monk's chapter, brief as that on the snakes in Ireland, concerning the armor of a musketeer. "The armour of a musketeer is good courage." The entire section from which Milton's quotation from Ward is taken is a singularly fine analysis of bravery and cowardice. Though there is no detailed proof I cannot help thinking that Milton's characterization of the leaders of the infernal legions in Book II of *Paradise Lost* was influenced by it. Ward makes true valor a mean between softness and presumption, describing the extremes in terms which suggest Milton's representation of Belial and Moloch as two types of councillor and warrior. Certainly this passage and the entire body of Milton's study and reflection regarding military morale, the military character, and the qualities of military leadership enter deeply along with many other varied elements into the portrait of Satan in his capacity as generalissimo of the rebel hosts. No one, I think, having freshly in memory Xenophon's clear cut and systematic presentation of military virtue and skilled leadership in the *Cyropedia* or the anecdotes of great generals and their policies collected by Frontinus and Polyænus or the modern discussions of Ward and Machiavelli, can read Books I, II, and VI, of *Paradise Lost* without being conscious of a significant relation between certain features of Milton's delineation and this coherent body of ideas and exempla.

In making these claims for the influence of Milton's military reading on his conception of Satan and his fellow captains I do not, of course, ignore the fact that he had also before his eyes as living models the great warriors and councillors of the Commonwealth. But these figures were themselves assimilated in Milton's

thought to their ancient types and to the ideal conceptions which already dwelt in his mind as the result of meditative study. His portraits of Cromwell, Vane, and Fairfax illustrate this process and contain besides some clear reflections of Milton's specific study of the art of war. Thus in describing Cromwell's virtues and achievements as commander of the armies of the Commonwealth Milton speaks particularly of the fact that he succeeded in attracting the good and brave from all quarters to his camp and in retaining the obedience of his troops "not by largess or indulgence but by his sole authority and the regularity of his pay." "In this instance," he characteristically adds, "his fame may rival that of Cyrus, of Epaminondas, or any of the great generals of antiquity." The sonnet to Cromwell makes allusion to the importance attached by ancient writers to the enjoyment of Fortune as the qualification of a general, a principle which Milton of course disparaged.

And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast reared God's trophies.

Lines 7 and 8 of the sonnet to Sir Henry Vane the Younger incorporate the oft-quoted maxim that money is the sinews of war, concerning which Milton had quoted an observation of Machiavelli's in the *Commonplace Book*:

Then to advise how war may best, upheld,
Move by her two main nerves, iron and steel,
In all her equipage.

In this poem Vane's generalship is not separated from his activity in council but is made a part of it. The lines just cited suggest his wisdom in those larger policies and principles of war in which the art military becomes one with the art of rule.

The intimate relation between Milton's military studies and his general scholarly equipment, the degree to which lessons and principles derived from the experience of man in arms are incorporated in the moral, political, and philosophical wisdom which is the common basis both of his poetry and his prose, as well as the very considerable amount of detail furnished to his imagination by the minutiae of ancient and modern war, should now be clear. It was inevitable, given Milton's essentially humanistic temper, that what most interested him in this great and characteristic department of man's activity should be its ultimate significance for human life.

In the marshalling of men under the discipline of civilized armies he saw primarily the beauty and effectiveness of order. In the insistence of all wise commanders on the importance of the spirit of the individual fighter in the arbitrament of battle he saw a proof of the superiority of mind over matter. To him as to Robert Ward the real sources of the victorious spirit were moral and religious—righteousness and the consciousness of a righteous cause—and this truth was confirmed by the experience of the generation in which he lived. War, then, constituted for Milton a precious illustration of the operation in man of spiritual forces and of the triumph in human affairs of the almighty will. Yet while valuing war for what it has to give of interest and beauty and insight into man's nobler nature, Milton none the less deploras it as an evidence and outcome of man's fallen state. The cause to which he was most deeply allied was the cause of peace, and we may read an eloquent expression of his point of view in the set of sonnets already cited as illustrations of his sense of the military virtues of the captains of the Commonwealth. Great as these men have been as leaders in war their greater work remains.

O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand
(For what can war but endless war still breed).

Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than those of war.

The same idea is majestically embodied in the contrast between the sixth and seventh books of *Paradise Lost*. Creation follows destruction in the order of Heaven as in that of earth. Thus the angels sing of the unimaginable activities of the Almighty as Milton himself had done of the human deeds of Cromwell.

Thee that day
Thy thunders magnified; but to create
Is greater than created to destroy.

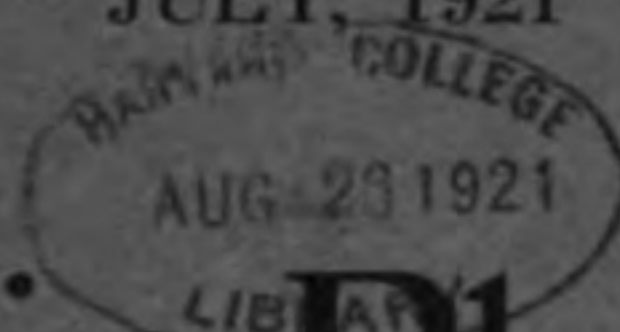
In his own studies in the larger policy of war itself Milton had been much impressed with its constructive side. Under the heading "de disciplina militari" in the Commonplace Book he notes "the justice and abstaining from spoil in the army of Henry V and the benefit thereof"; under the title "De bello" he cites Henry's conduct at Harfleur as an instance of "moderate and Christian demeanor after victory." Another section of the Commonplace

Book deals with treaties. These citations suggest the point of contact between Milton's interest in war and his broader study of international relationships. He had read Grotius and must therefore have seen the importance of the restraining usages of civilized warfare as the foundation of a law of nations. For the idea of the larger unity of man Milton had as mighty an enthusiasm as the most ardent of modern internationalists. "Who does not know that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man all over the world, neither is it the English sea that can sever us from that duty and relation." His hopefulness is tempered, however, both by experience and by the implications of his theology, and he sees no prospect of doing away with war while human nature remains in its present unregeneracy. In his whole attitude toward war Milton is as far removed as possible from the position of the Quakers, with whose ideas in other respects he had much sympathy. His point of view, already made apparent throughout the course of the present study, is, from the theological angle, explicitly set forth in the treatise *Of Christian Doctrine*. "There seems no reason why war should be unlawful now, any more than in the time of the Jews: nor is it anywhere forbidden in the New Testament." The "duties of war," as Milton in his curious way inferred them from the relevant scriptural texts, are said to be, first, that it be not undertaken without mature deliberation; secondly, that it be carried on wisely and skillfully; thirdly, that it be prosecuted with moderation; fourthly, that it be waged in a spirit of godliness; fifthly, that no mercy be shown to a merciless enemy; sixthly, that our confidence be not placed in human strength but in God alone; seventhly, that the booty be distributed in equitable proportions. Regarding which trim reckoning one can only say, in his own words, "This is gospel, and this was ever law among equals."

University of North Carolina.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVI, 1919

	PAGE
Morris W. Croll. The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose	1
George R. Coffman. The Miracle Play in England—Some Records of Presentation, and Notes on Preserved Plays	56
Dudley Miles. A Forgotten Hit: "The Nonjuror".....	67
A. H. R. Fairchild. Robert Bloomfield.....	78
A. G. H. Spiers. An Ill-Advised Criticism of "Cyrano de Bergerac".....	102
Sturgis E. Leavitt. Paul Scarron and English Travesty..	108
Editorial	121
Hanford, James Holly. Milton and the Return to Humanism	126
Thompson, Elbert N. S. Milton's Knowledge of Geography	148
Gilbert, Allan H. The Cambridge Manuscript and Milton's Plans for an Epic.....	172
Cook, Albert Stanburrough. Four Notes.....	177
Thaler, Alwin. Playwright's Benefits, and "Interior Gath- ering" in the Elizabethan Theatre.....	187
Powell, C. L. The Castle of the Body.....	197
Recent Literature.....	206
Cross, Tom Peete. Witchcraft in North Carolina.....	217
Adams, Joseph Quincy. The Bones of Ben Jonson.....	289
Beatty, Joseph M. The Political Satires of Charles Churchill	303
G. Kenneth G. Henry. Roman Actors.....	334



Studies in Philology

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

EDWIN GREENLAW, Managing Editor

WILLIAM M. DEY

GEORGE HOWE

ELIZABETHAN STUDIES: SIXTH SERIES

CONTENTS

ROLLINS, HYDER E.—A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama, - - - -	267
PADELFORD, FREDERICK MORGAN.—The Virtue of Temperance in the Faerie Queene, - - - -	334
WHIGAM, R. G. and EMERSON, O. F.—Sonnet Structure in Sidney's 'Astrophel and Stella,' - - - -	347
MONAGHAN, JAMES.—Falstaff and his Forebears, - -	353
RECENT LITERATURE, - - - - -	362
<i>Early Tudor Poetry</i> (Berdan); <i>The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions</i> (Deanesley); <i>Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century</i> (Taylor); <i>Italian Social Customs in the Sixteenth Century</i> (Crane); <i>English Pageantry</i> (Withington); <i>The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey</i> (Padelford); <i>English Madrigal Verse</i> (Fellowes); <i>Old English Ballads</i> (Rollins); <i>Poetic Origins and the Ballad</i> (Pound); <i>La Pensée de Milton</i> (Saurat); <i>Blake and Milton</i> (Saurat).	

Published Quarterly by

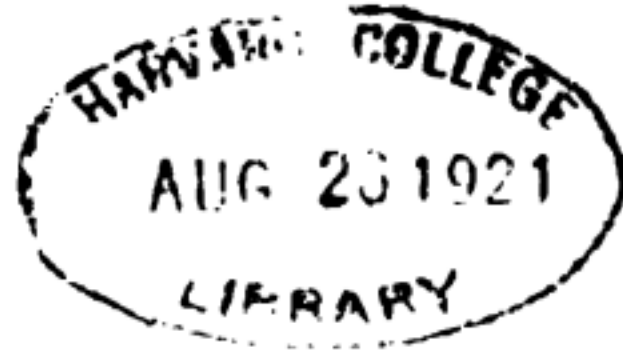
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Agent for Great Britain and the Continent:
Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4.

Yearly Subscription, \$3.00—Single Copies, \$1.00

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVII, 1920

	PAGE
Charles H. Grandgent. Dante's Verse.....	1
Charles Read Baskervill. Dramatic Aspects of Medieval Folk Festivals in England.....	19
E. S. Sheldon. Romance and Romanic.....	88
Tom Peete Cross. A Welsh Tristan Episode.....	93
William M. Dey. A Note on Old French "Por-" in English	111
Oliver Towles. Forms of Asseverative and Adjurative Prepositional Phrases in Old French.....	113
Robert Withington. Scott's Contribution to Pageantic Development—A Note on the Visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822.....	121
Henry David Gray. The "Titus Andronicus" Problem..	126
Merrit Y. Hughes. Spenser and Utopia.....	132
Allan H. Gilbert. Milton and the Mysteries.....	147
Thornton S. Graves. Notes on the Elizabethan Theatres..	170
Raymond Macdonald Alden. The Lyrical Conceits of the "Metaphysical Poets".....	183
Hyder E. Rollins. William Elderton: Elizabethan Actor and Ballad-Writer.....	199
Recent Literature.....	246
Alwin Thaler. Milton in the Theatre.....	269
James Holly Hanford. The Date of Milton's "De Doctrina Christiana"	309
Edwin Greenlaw. Spenser's Influence on "Paradise Lost"	320
G. H. Harrer and J. S. Moffatt, Jr. A Thirteenth-century Fragment of Justinian's Digest.....	361
B. L. Ullman. The Present Status of the Satura Question.	379
John C. Rolfe. Marginalia.....	402
George Howe. An Applied Literature.....	423
Edwin Greenlaw. Spenser and Lucretius.....	439



Studies in Philology

Volume XVIII

July, 1921

Number 3

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH DRAMA

BY HYDER E. ROLLINS

Perhaps the obscurest chapter in the history of English literature is that of the drama during the period of the Great Rebellion (1642-1660). Almost nothing has been written on this period, and apart from a few scattered jottings by Professor C. H. Firth in *Notes and Queries* and by Professor J. Q. Adams in *Shakespearean Playhouses*, our knowledge has advanced very little since the early researches of Edmond Malone and his successor, John Payne Collier. Presumably Professor George C. D. Odell's *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving* (1920) has summarized knowledge to date; yet his history of the so-called dramatic interregnum runs to only three and a half pages, and fully half of it is quoted from James Wright's *Historia Histrionica* (1699). Nobody, apparently, has been sufficiently interested in the period to think of making a serious study of the huge collection of news-books, pamphlets, and single sheets amassed during the years 1640-1660 by the London printer George Thomason, though this collection is accessible to readers at the British Museum and is inevitably the ultimate source for a historical account of the Commonwealth stage. As a result, such a slip as Collier's in giving two dates for a surreptitious stage-performance has caused endless perplexity and confusion: almost every writer on the drama calls attention to the discrepancy; but nobody has made an effort to check up the sheets Collier cited.

The present article does not pretend to be a definitive history: it is, instead, a modest contribution to such a history, which may

help some later student in dealing finally with the subject. Recently it was my fortune to examine with some care complete files of twenty or thirty news-books in the Thomason Collection and to glance rapidly through many of the pamphlets and broadsides. My purpose in doing so, however, was rather to collect material for a history of the ballad than a history of the drama—a purpose that prevented so thorough a search for facts connected with the stage as otherwise would have been given.

But within these limitations the article presents much new material. It forms the first coherent story of the Commonwealth drama. It shows beyond all dispute that theatrical productions never ceased, in spite of the active and relentless hostility of the government. It presents many new facts about the actors, notably “the Turk” and Robert Cox; calls attention to eight or nine hitherto unrecorded raids by soldiers on surreptitious performances in playhouses; and points out significant parallels to these raids in the provinces. More remarkable still are the public advertisements of stage-performances that I have culled from the news-books; while a bit of interest and coherence is given to the story by a rapid view of the operation of the laws directed against ballads and unlicensed news-sheets. Ballad-lore, too, has been called into service.

As the documents themselves are obviously of far more value than my own remarks can be, I have printed in full most of those I cite, usually retaining the exact spelling and punctuation. Unless otherwise specified, these documents are to be found in the Thomason Collection; and from Thomason’s own manuscript notes many of the dates are taken. In every case I have given the dates of years (*i. e.*, from January 1 through March 24) according to the new style.

When the first ordinance for the suppression of playhouses was issued, the London theatres were in a far from prosperous condition. For one thing, plagues had caused a suppression of plays in 1635 and in 1636-1637. During the latter interval of a year and a half the actors fell into desperate straits, which the reopening of the theatres did not alleviate. For one reason or another, too, the players ran foul of the civil authorities. Thus in May, 1639, actors at the Fortune theatre were “fined £1000 for

setting up an altar, a bason, and two candlesticks, and bowing down before it upon the stage; and although they allege it was an old play revived, and an altar to the heathen gods, yet it was apparent that this play was revived on purpose in contempt of the ceremonies of the Church."¹ At the Red Bull, in September, 1639, Andrew Cane and others performed a play called *The Whore New Vamped*, which aroused the ire of the Privy Council. The Council at once ordered the Attorney-General to investigate and punish the author, actors, and licenser of the play.² At the Phoenix, or Cockpit, in Drury Lane, in the spring of 1640, William Beeston, Governor of the King's and Queen's Boys, produced without license a play, offensive to Charles I, that "had relation to the passages of the King's journey into the north, and was complained of by His Majesty to me [Sir Henry Herbert], with command to punish the offenders." As a result, for several days the company was forbidden to act, and not long afterward Beeston was removed as Governor in favor of Davenant.³ The King's Men at the Blackfriars, however, were evidently anticipating a prosperous future when, on July 24, 1641, they made out a list of sixty plays in their repertory which they forbade the members of the Stationers' Company ever to print.⁴

Important, then, as showing the decay of the theatres under the ban of plagues and under the pressure exerted both by the government and by general social unrest is the oft-quoted pamphlet called *The Stage-Players Complaint. In A pleasant Dialogue betweene Cane of the Fortune, and Reed of the Friers. Deploring their sad and solitary conditions for want of Employment. In this heavie and Contagious time of the Plague in London* (September, 1641).⁵ Both Cane and Reed will be met later in attempts to evade Parliament's orders against stage-performances. Here they show that all actors were fearfully anticipating drastic legislation: Monopolers are downe, Projectors are downe, the High Commission Court

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1639*, p. 140; J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 288.

² *Malone Society Collections*, v, 394.

³ *Malone, Variorum Shakespeare*, III, 241; Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, 1879, II, 32; Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, pp. 360 f.

⁴ *Malone Society Collections*, v, 364.

⁵ W. C. Hazlitt, *The English Drama and Stage, 1543-1664*, 1869, pp. 253 ff.

is downe, the Starre-Chamber is down, & (some think) Bishops will downe, and why should we then that are farre inferior to any of those not justly feare, least we should be downe too?

The pamphlet concludes dolefully with a litany: "From Plague, Pestilence, and Famine, from Battell, Murder, and suddaine Death: Good Lord deliver us." Only a few months earlier (in June) had appeared satirical broadsides called *The Late [and The last] Will and Testament of the Doctors Commons*,⁶ which contain these provisions:

Item, I will and bequeath all my large Bookes of Acts, to them of the Fortune Play-House, for I hold it a deed of charity, in regard they want good action.

All my great Books of Acts to be divided between the Fortune and the Bull; for they spoyle many a good Play for want of Action.

Perhaps because of the scarcity of public performances London printers now began to publish many brief satirical pamphlets on current affairs, arranged in acts and scenes and often libelous to a degree. Among these miniature dramas are *Canterburie His Change of Diot*,⁷ a satire on Laud, and *Mercurius Britanicus, Or The English Intelligencer. A Tragic-Comedy, at Paris. Acted with great Applause*.⁸ At Christmas, 1641, only one play—Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, was acted at Court, and neither the King nor Queen attended.⁹ On February 28, Charles I left London; and in June Sir Henry Herbert closed his Revels accounts with the entry of a play called *The Irish Rebellion*: "Here," he wrote, "ended my allowance of plays, for the war began in August, 1642."¹⁰

In spite of the outbreak of Civil War, on September 2, 1642—when the first law of suppression was issued—seven London play-

⁶ British Museum, 669. fol. 4 (18 and 20).

⁷ Reproduced in Ashbee's *Occasional Fac-simile Reprints*.

⁸ British Museum, E. 172 (34).

⁹ Fleay, *Chronicle History of the London Stage*, p. 351. In "The Prologue . . . To A Comedie Presented, At the Entertainment of the Prince His Highnesse, by the Schollers of Trinity College in Cambridge, in March last, 1641[/2]" (E. 144/9), it is stated that "We perish, if the *Round-heads* be about" and that "Our only hope is that this play will escape the Puritans because it was made extempore."

¹⁰ Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, 1879, II, 36.

houses were, it seems, giving performances: Salisbury Court, Blackfriars, the Globe, the Fortune, the Red Bull, the Drury Lane Cockpit (or Phoenix), and the Hope, though the last was used only for animal baitings. After September 2 all were temporarily closed; and in the seventeen years that followed, only four of the seven—the Fortune, the Red Bull, Salisbury Court, and the Cockpit—are known to have been used for surreptitious performances. The Fortune itself dropped out of this unequal contest with Parliament early; the other three did not give up the fight, and the Red Bull, at least, managed to present plays with some regularity throughout the entire interregnum.

The ordinance of September 2, 1642, in solemn and dignified terms recited that "Whereas the distressed Estate of Ireland, steeped in her own Blood, and the distracted Estate of England, threatned with a Cloud of Blood, by a Civill Warre, call for all possible meanes to appease and avert the Wrath of God appearing in these Judgements," and "whereas publike Sports doe not well agree with publike Calamities, nor publike Stage-plays with the Seasons of Humiliation," it is therefore ordained "that while these sad Causes and set times of Humiliation doe continue, publike Stage-Playes shall cease, and bee forborne."¹¹ It is important to note that this edict forbids only public performances and is merely a temporary measure. From a political point of view it was entirely just, for the hostility of the players to Parliament, their loyalty to the King, was notorious. Without question, the stage would have been used to foment discontent and rebellion against Parliament.

To some of the actors the ordinance came as a death-knell; but the majority of actors, as well as many of the playwrights, had already taken up arms for the King. Davenant, a playwright whose work forms the chief connecting link between the Elizabethan and the Restoration drama, was early implicated in a plot against the Parliament. On May 8, 1641, a proclamation issued under the hand and seal of Charles I stated that

whereas *Henry Percy, Esquire, Henry Jermyn, Esquire, Sir John Sucklyn, Knight, Wiliam Davenant, and Captain Billingsly*, being by Order of the Lords in Parliament to be examined concernyng *Designes of great danger*

¹¹ A facsimile reproduction is added to Joseph Knight's reprint of John Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus*.

to the State, and mischievous wayes to prevent the happy successe and conclusion of this Parliament, have so absented and withdraw[n] themselves, as they cannot be examined: His Maiestie, by the advice of the said Lords in Parliament, doth strictly charge and command [these persons], to appear before the said Lords in Parliament at Westminster, within ten dayes after the date hereof, upon pain to incurre and undergo such forfeitures and punishments as the said Lords shall order and inflict upon them.¹³

Davenant's fortunes are reported with some regularity in ensuing numbers of *Diurnall Occurrences*. Thus on May 15 it announced that the House of Commons had learned that while the four others had escaped to France, "there was also a report from *Feversham*, that Master *Davenant* the Poet was taken there, who is by order of the House, sent for."¹³ On May 17 Davenant was brought "in a paire of Oares to the House, and from thence committed to the Serjeant at Armes, command being given that none should speak with him, but in the presence of the Serjeant, or one of his men."¹⁴

On May 18 he was examined by Parliament, and reexamined on June 3, June 5, and June 16. All five of the accused were found guilty on July 24, but on August 12 the Commons, after a great debate, held that Davenant's guilt was not well established.¹⁵ There is no need to follow further his adventures with the Parliament or on the battlefield, where he was knighted by the King for gallantry. It might be noted, however, that the *Parliament Scout* for July 18-25, 1644, reported that at a battle near York he was slain.

With so marked an example of disloyalty before them, the Parliament may readily be pardoned for its hostility to the stage. And this hostility was increased by the eagerness with which actors flocked to the royal army. James Wright's *Historia Histrionica* (1699) is the authority for the statement that "most of 'em, except *Lowin*, *Tayler* and *Pollard*, (who were superannuated) went into the King's Army, and like good Men and true, Serv'd their Old Master, tho' in a different, yet more honourable, Capacity. *Robinson*¹⁶ was Kill'd at the Taking of a Place (I think *Basing*

¹³ British Museum, 816. m. 1 (36).

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 117, 119, 141, 312, 338.

¹⁷ Cf. Peter Cunningham, "Did General Harrison kill 'Dick Robinson' the Player?" *Shakespeare Society Papers*, II (1845), 11-13, and J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage*, 1879, II, 39.

House) by *Harrison*, he that was after Hang'd at *Charing-cross*, who refused him Quarter, and Shot him in the Head when he had laid down his Arms; abusing Scripture at the same time, in saying, *Cursed is he that doth the Work of the Lord negligently*. *Mohun* was a Captain, (and after the Wars were ended here, served in *Flanders*, where he received Pay as a Major) *Hart* was a Lieutenant of Horse under Sir *Thomas Dallison*, in *Prince Rupert's*, Regiment, *Burt* was Cornet in the same Troop, and *Shatterel* Quarter-master. *Allen* of the *Cockpit*, was a Major, and Quarter Master General at *Oxford*." The *Perfect Diurnal* for October 24, 1642, tells of a player *Shanks* who deserted from the Parliamentary army rather than fight the King.¹⁷ "One *Knowles*, who was heretofore a dancer on the ropes, and also a jester to Master *John Punteus* the French Mountebanke, which travelled throughout this Kingdom," was said to have been a ringleader in the crime narrated in *A great Robbery in the North, Neer Swanton in Yorkshire; Showing How one Mr. Tailour was Robbed by a Company of Cavaliers* (July 12, 1642).

Other accounts of actor-soldiers abound. Thus in December, 1642, a satiric pamphlet called *Certaine Propositions Offered To The Consideration of The Honourable Houses of Parliament*¹⁸ remarked:

5. That being your sage Counsels have thought fit to vote downe Stage-Players roote and branch, but many even of the well affected to that Reformation have found, and hope hereafter to find, Play-house[s] most convenient, and happy places of meeting: and that now in this Bag-pipe Minstralsie weeke (I meane, this red packe of leasure dayes that is coming) there must be some Enterludes whether you will or no: You would be pleased to declare your selves, that you never meant to take away the calling of Stage-playes, but reforme the abuse of it; that is, that they bring no prophane plots, but take them out of the Scriptures all (as that of *Joseph* and his brethren would make the Ladies weepe: that of *David* and his Troubles would do pretty well for this present: and doubtlesse *Susanna* and the two Elders would be a *Scene* that would take above any that was ever yet presented). It would not be amisse too, if instead of the Musicke that playes betweene Acts, there were onely a Psalme sung for distinction sake. This might be easily brought to passe, if either the Court Play-writers be commanded to read the Scripture, or the City Scrip-

¹⁷ Collier, *op. cit.*, III, 486.

¹⁸ British Museum, E. 179 (28), p. 5; reprinted in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1808, vol. III.

ture-Readers be commanded to write Playes. This as it would much advantage our Part, so it would much disadvantage the King's: for as by it wee should gaine a new place of Edifying, so Captaine Trig, and the rest of the Players which are now in service, would doubtlessely returne to their callings, and much lessen the King's Army.

Mercurius Anti-Britannicus,¹⁹ published at Oxford on August 11, 1645, refers to

the Players; who now in these sad times, have most of them of this side, turn'd Lieutenants, and Captains, as their fellowes on the other side, have turn'd *Deacons*, and *Lay-elders*. For when the Stage at *Westminster*, where the two Houses now Act, is once more restored back againe to *Black-Fryers*, they have hope they shall returne to their old harmelesse profession of killing Men in Tragedies without Man-slaughter. Till then, they complaine very much that their profession is taken from them; and say 'twas never a good World, since the Lord *Viscount Say and Seale* succeeded *Joseph Taylor*.

After the battle of Naseby *Perfect Occurrences* (September 19-26, 1645) reported:

Nay the Kings very players are come in, having left Oxford, and throwne themselves upon the mercy of the Parliament, they offer to take the Covenant, & (if they may be accepted) are willing to put themselves into their service.²⁰

"I have not heard of one of these Players of any Note," added Wright, "that sided with the other Party, but only *Swanston*, and he profest himself a Presbyterian, took up the Trade of a Jeweller, and liv'd in *Aldermanbury*, within the Territory of Father *Calamy*. The rest either Lost, or expos'd their Lives for their King." To this lone example should be added John Harris—though he was hardly a player of note—described by *Mercurius Impartialis* (No. 1, p. 2) as "sometimes a Players Boy, a Rogue by the Statute; and since the suppression of Play-houses, hath betaken himself to the Profession of a Printer." For a time Harris remained at an Oxford printing shop, but later came to London, where he was hired by the Parliament to write an anti-royalist news-book called *Mercurius Militaris*.²¹ He seems to have been a thoroughly bad person, and his life reads like a picaresque novel. In 1649 he was one of the few witnesses who stood on the scaffold when Charles I

¹⁹ British Museum, E. 296(2).

²⁰ Noticed also by Collier in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry*.

²¹ *The Man in the Moon*, March 13-20, 1650.

was beheaded; in September, 1660, for theft and robbery he himself was hanged.²²

That all the actors did not enter the army is certain, though probably those who remained in London were either too old or too young for military service, while others may have gone abroad to act.²³ Nor were the stay-at-homes silent. One of them wrote the caustic "Players' Petition,"²⁴ addressing it to the "heroic nine or ten" who were controlling Parliament and the army.

O wise, misterious Synod, what shall we
Doe for such men as you, ere forty-three
Be halfe expir'd, & an vn lucky Season
Shall set a period to Trienniall treason?
.
But whilst you liue, our lowe peticon craues
That the King's true Subjectes & your Slaues
May, in our Comick Mirth & tragick rage,
Set vp the Theater & shew the Stage,
The shop of truth & Fancy, where we vow
Not to act any thing you disallow.
We will not dare at your strange votes to ieere,
Or personate K. P[ym], which your State Steeres.
Aspiring Cataline shalbe forgott,
Bloody Sejanus, or who ere would plot
Confusion to a State; the warrs betwixt
The Parliament & iust Henry the sixt
Shall haue no thought or meanc,²⁵ cause *their* power
Not only plact, but lost, him in *the* Tower;
Nor like the graue advice of learned Pim
Make a Malignant & then plunder him.
All these & such like Accons *that* may marr
Your learning Plottes & shew you what you are,
We will omitt, lest your Succession shake vm—

²² Cf. J. B. Williams, *A History of English Journalism*, pp. 106 f.

²³ Ward, *Hist. English Dramatic Literature*, III, 278, cites Karajan's *Abraham a Sancta Clara*, p. 113, note, for the mention of an English comedian at Vienna in 1654.

²⁴ A late copy is in *The Rump*, 1662, Part I, pp. 32-34, whence it is reprinted in Hazlitt's *English Drama and Stage*, pp. 272 ff. Much earlier copies, hitherto apparently unknown, are preserved in MS. Ashmole 47, fols. 132-133 (from which I quote) and MS. Rawlinson poet. 71, fols. 164v-168. There are great differences between the ms. and the printed texts.

²⁵ *I. e.*, mention.

Why should the men be wiser then you make vm?
 Me thinks there should not such a difference be
 Twixt your professions & your quallity:
 You well plot, act, talke high with mindes imence;
 The like with vs—but only we speake sence.

.
 We make the people laugh at some vaine show,
 And as they laugh at vs, they doe at you.
 But then, in the Contrary, we disagree,
 For you can make them cry faster then we:
 Your Trajedies are more really exprest,
 You murder men in earnest, we in iest.

. give vs leaue to play
 Quietly before the King comes, for we wood
 Be glad to say w'aue done a litle good.
 Since you haue satt, your play is almost done
 As well as ours—wood it had nere begun;
 For we shall see ere the last act be spent,
 Enter the King, exunt the Parliament.
 And 'hey, then, vp goe we' who by the frowne
 Of guilty Consciencs haue byne trod downe.
 Yet you may still remaine, & sit, & vote,
 And through your owne beames see your brotheres mote,
 Vntill a legall Triall doe show how
 Y'aue vs'd the King, & 'hey, then, vp goe you.'
 Soe pray your humble Slaues with all their powres
 That when they haue their due you may haue yours.

Other actors, who were sharers in the Cockpit, Blackfriars, and Salisbury Court playhouses, composed the clever pamphlet called *The Actors Remonstrance, Or Complaint: For The silencing of their profession, and banishment from their severall Play-houses* (January 24, 1643).²⁶ Written in the form of a mock-petition to Apollo and the nine muses, the pamphlet shows clearly that London actors had already begun to fear "a perpetuall, at least a very long tempo[r]ary, silence" of the stage. Here, too, is pointed out the injustice of abolishing stage-plays, while "other publike recreations of farre more harmful consequence [are] permitted still to stand in statu quo prius," as the Bear Garden and puppet-plays. The sharers in the three playhouses are, it declares, ruined: their hired men are either in the army or are else "destin'd to meaner courses, or depending upon us, whom in courtesie wee cannot see

²⁶ Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, pp. 259 ff.

want for old acquaintance sakes"; gone are the Fools, the door-keepers, the tire-men, the musicians; moths are devouring the costumes; while as for the playwrights, "some of them (if they have not been enforced to do it already) will be encited to enter themselves into Martin Parkers societie, and write ballads." As ballad-making was then the principal trade of London, "ballads being sold by whole hundreds in the city,"²⁷ playwrights could have found the change to ballad-writing profitable. Thomas Jordan, an actor who had also written several plays before 1642, did take up ballad-writing, in which, as was perhaps natural, he showed partiality for subjects made familiar by the Elizabethan stage. A large number of his ballads, afterward collected and published in *The Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie* (1664), merely summarized the plots of *Philaster*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and other favorite plays. But ballads were soon to be placed under the same ban as plays, and stern measures were taken against their production and distribution.

Active resistance, too, to the ordinance soon developed. At the Fortune theatre no pretence was made of obeying the law: plays were given there often, and complaints of the performances were made to the Parliament. Sir Henry Mildmay ²⁸ records in his diary seeing plays performed on August 20 and November 16, 1643, the latter performance being interrupted by soldiers. On October 2, 1643, the persistent players at the Fortune were interrupted in the midst of their play by a body of soldiers and violently despoiled of their costumes. The picturesque story as given by the *Weekly Account* (October 4, 1643)²⁹ runs thus:

The Players at the Fortune in Golding Lane, who had oftentimes been complained of, and prohibited the acting of wanton and licentious Playes, yet persevering in their forbidden Art, this day [Monday, October 2] there was set a strong guard of Pikes and muskets on both gates of the Play-house, and in the middle of their play they unexpectedly did presse into the Stage upon them, who (amazed at these new Actors) it turned their

²⁷ *The Scots Scouts Discoveries*, 1642 (*Phoenia Britannicus*, 1732, I, 466).

²⁸ Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, 1879, II, 38.

²⁹ In the summary of news on the first sheet of this pamphlet (British Museum, Burney 17) we read: "11. The players' misfortune at the Fortune in Golding Lane, their players' clothes being seized upon in the time of a play by authority from the Parliament"; this summary is quoted in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1641-43*, p. 564.

Comedy into a Tragedy, and being plundered of all the richest of their cloathes, they left them nothing but their necessities now to act, and to learne a better life.

I have found no further record of attempts at playing in the Fortune before 1647. The Globe playhouse, too, was pulled down on April 15, 1644, to make room for tenements,⁸⁰ and its passing must have made more noticeable the hostile attitude of the Parliament towards stage-plays.

George Thomason has preserved a libel which he notes was written "by some Independant aganst L[or]d Gen. Essex and I,[or]d of manchester and scatred about ye streets in the night," in which a complaint is made that Parliament is betrayed by "an open enemie," who "hath made use of Rouges [sic], Cutpurses, Players, Fidlers and Tinkers to forward a Reformation."⁸¹ The manifold hostile activities of actors and their repeated attempts at playing led to the passage of a further ordinance on October 20, 1645, for the Keeping of the Sabbath, directed at any person who "shall make, or resort unto any Playes, Interludes, Fencing," and so on.⁸² In the next year, however, Thomas May, ex-playwright

⁸⁰ According to a MS. note in a copy of a 1631 Stow's *Annales* preserved in the Phillipps collection at Cheltenham (printed both in the second edition of J. P. Collier's *Shakespeare* and by F. J. Furnivall in the *Academy*, xxii, 315), the Globe was "pulled downe to the ground, by Sr Matthew Brand. On Munday the 15 of April 1644., to make tenements in the roome of it." Cf. J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 264.

⁸¹ This libel, the reference to which I have mislaid, Thomason dates December 9, 1644.

⁸² *Weekly Account*, October 18-22, 1645. A satirical reply to this ordinance is given in a pamphlet called *A Whip for an Ape*, the Thomason copy of which is dated August 29. "No recreation on Sundaies, nor Playes on workie dayes? Why what will become of us?" asks the author. He then turns, somewhat unexpectedly, to a denunciation of "the two *Germaine* Princes," Maurice and Rupert, who are helping "undoe their Uncle," Charles I:—"O the memorable acts of these bold Beacham's, not to be paraleld by those so often presented wth generall applause in the publique Theatre. These do not trust a companie of idle fellowes to tell their stories for 'em in a Play-house, but make all England the Stage, wherewith fire and sword they Act their parts themselves, and they have past with such applause hitherto and have acted so to the Life, that if they doe but come off well, they shall be cry'd up for as absolute *Tragedians* as ever purchas'd infamie by killing their best friends: but 'tis to be fear'd there will be some danger i' the last Act, they that play the greatest parts in *Tragedies*, are commonly kil'd themselves in the conclusion, to the generall satisfaction of the Audience."

and then the historian of Parliament, wrote in verses prefixed to James Shirley's *Poems* (1646) that the theatres were "fitly silenc'd by the Lawes"; and one of them, the Cockpit in Drury Lane, seems actually to have been turned into a schoolhouse.³³ Few literary men other than May can be found who applauded the suppression of plays. His own applause was no doubt due to political affiliations.

By 1647 the war was regarded at an end, and the actors professed to believe that the ordinance of 1642 no longer applied. The Salisbury Court, Cockpit, and Fortune playhouses are known to have begun performances, with little or no concealment, on a fairly regular schedule; the same thing was probably done at the Red Bull. That the Parliament itself had foreseen this step and that there had been some discussion of new measures of repression seems to be implied in a scurrilous pamphlet called *The Parliament of Ladies*,³⁴ which was issued on March 26, 1647:—"A motion was then made for putting down of playes, whereupon the Lady *Munmouth* desired it might be explained what playes were meant answer being made, Stage-playes were only understood, shee declared shee would concurre with the House in that. . . ." A late and even coarser sequel, *The Ladies, A Second Time, Assembled In Parliament*³⁵ (August 13, 1647), gives valuable facts about the playhouses:—

The House then adjourned for that day, and on the morrow assembled againe, where the first thing they fell upon, was, a Complaint that was made against Players, who contrary to an Ordinance, had set up shop againe, and acted divers Playes, at the two houses, the Fortune, and Salisbury Court. Whereupon it was demanded what Plaies they were, and answer being given, that one of them was the scornefull Lady [by Beaumont and Fletcher], the house tooke it in high disdaine, and as an absolute contempt of their power; and therefore ordered that Alderman *Atkins* should make a journey on purpose to suppress them; and also ordered that an Act should be passed to prohibit that Play to be hereafter acted; but divers Ladies were offended at this Order, intended for the suppressing of Playes, as the Lady *Munmouth*, . . . and the Lady *Stanford*, [who

³³ "1646. Pd. and given to the teacher at the Cockpitt of the children, 6 d."—John Parton, *Some Account of the Hospital and Parish of St. Giles in the Fields*, p. 235. Cf. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 362.

³⁴ Bodleian, Wood 654 A, 12-13. Wood adds in ms. that "Hen. Nevill Esq." is the author.

³⁵ Bodleian, Wood 654 A, 10.

lik't] *Frank Beaumonts* Play so well, setting his *Scornfull Lady* aside, shee would often admit him in . . . a great confusion happening about this businesse of Playes, they at length concluded, that a Committee of Ladies should be chosen on purpose to consider of this businesse.

A puritanical writer of this period observed that "in the very streets hee might behold . . . Men and Women attired like Anticks and Stage-players."³⁶ Much of the objection strict Puritans had against the stage was due to the elaborate costumes of the players.

On July 16 the House of Commons passed an order requiring the Lord Mayor and the Justices of Peace of London and Middlesex "to take effectual Care speedily to suppress all publick Plays and Playhouses, and all Dancings on the Ropes."³⁷ Forwarded to the House of Lords, the order was there amended so as to include bear-baitings and to continue in effect until January 1, 1648. Curiously enough, some of the Lords objected to setting a time-limit, on the ground that the real intention of Parliament was to suppress plays forever. The Commons, however, accepted the bill as amended, and it was put into effect on July 17.³⁸

To this order little or no attention was paid. Plays—*The Scornful Lady* among them—were publicly acted at Salisbury Court, the Cockpit, and the Fortune. When on August 11 complaints of these illegal performances were made to the House of Commons, that body at first directed the Commander-in-Chief of the Guard of the House to suppress the theatres, but, reconsidering because of the dangerous plague season, ordered the "Justices of Peace and Committees of *Middlesex* and *Southwark*, to take special Care for the suppressing of *Stage Plays*, Bear and Bull-baitings, Dancing on the Ropes, &c."³⁹ This order affected not only the theatres where plays were being given but also the Hope, with its animal-baitings, the Red Bull, with its rope-dancing, and even Bartholomew Fair, with its wax-work and puppet-shows.

So far as it affected the revels of Bartholomew Fair, the ordinance was put into vigorous operation by John Warner, Lord Mayor

³⁶ *England Know thy Drivers and their Driver* (August 18, 1647), p. 2.

³⁷ *Journals of the House of Commons*, v, 246.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 248; *Journals of the House of Lords*, ix, 334 f.; *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daie iournall*, July 16-23, p. 189.

³⁹ John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, Pt. iv, vol. ii, p. 772; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1645-47*, p. 599.

of London. With his sheriffs he invaded Smithfield and put to rout the "motions" and their owners. An amusing ballad⁴⁰ describing his raid is preserved:—

The Dagonizing of *Bartholomew Fayre*, caused through the Lord Major's Command for the battering downe the vanities of the Gentiles, comprehended in Flag and Pole appertayning to Puppet-Play.

The 23. of August, being the day before the Apostolicke Fayre.

On August's foure and twentieth Eve,
The Cities Sovereigne and the Shrieve
To Smithfield came (if you'l beleeeve)
to see th' ungodly flagges.
The Livery men were sore put too't,
Though some wore shoe and some wore boot,
They w[e]re all constrain'd to trans on foot,
God save 'em.

Entring through Duck-lane, at the Crowne,
The soveraigne Cit began to frowne,
As if 't abated his renowne
the paint did so o'retop him.
Downe with these Dagon, then quoth he,
They outbrave my dayes Regality,—
For 's pride and partiality
Jove crop him.

Ile have no puppet-playes, quoth he;
The harmelesse-mirth displeaseth me,
Begun on August twenty-three;
'tis full twelve howres too early.
A Yonker then began to laugh,
'Gainst whom the Major advanc't white staffe,
And sent him to the Compter safe,
sans parly.

Another wight (in wofull wise)
Besought the Major, his puppetries

⁴⁰ British Museum, 669. fol. 11 (71v). Punctuation has been supplied in the foregoing reprint. The ballad has been very inaccurately (and with the silent omission of a stanza) printed in Thomas Wright's *Political Ballads Published in England During the Commonwealth*, p. 53 (Percy Society, 1841). In "A new Ballad, called a Review of the Rebellion" (669. f. 11/21), printed on June 15, 1647, occur the lines:—

"All Players, and Play-houses are o're throwne,
That now the *Two Houses* may Act alone. . . ."

Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

That he would not Babell-onize,—
 surely they were not whorish.
 Oh don't my bratts Isabellize,
 They ne're did Meretritialize
 Betwixt your Lordship's Ladies thighs;—
 peace Villaine.

Another Mortall had a clout,
 Which on a long pole did hang out,
 At which the Major turn'd up his snout,
 for he was then advancing.
 Mounted with him came both the Shrieves
 And Catchpoles with their hanging alieves;
 They shew'd much like a den of theev's,
 though prauncing.

With that my Lord did silence breake;
 He op'd his mouth and thus did speake:
 'Tis fittest, quoth he, that the weake
 unto the walls should goe.
 There was a Varlet (close at hand)
 To execute Gold chaines command,—
 Pull'd wight away straight, notwithstand-
 ing fowle 'twas.

He that shew'd wonders made of waxe
 Spoke in behalfe of his fine knacks:
 Quoth he, we spit no fire of flax,
 nor such like puppet-showes.
 Besides we shew his Excellence.
 Quoth Major, that is a faire pretence,
 Gods-nigs! 'tis time that I went hence;
 s' away h' goes.

On top of Booth sat pudding Iohn
 (Lord would be loath to sit thereon).
 I'me sure he wisht his Lordship gone,
 yet durst not tell him so.
 And when his Lordship left the Fayre,
 John set up throat did rend the Ayre,
 And glad he was, he lowd did sweare,
 he was gone.

So was Mr. *FINIS*.

In a broadsheet called "An Elegy, on The Timely Death of John Warner, Late Lord Maior,"⁴¹ published on November 17, 1648, the Bartholomew Fair raid is mentioned in

⁴¹ British Museum, 669. fol. 13(43).

His EPIGRAPH.

Here lies my Lord Major under this Stone,
 That last Bartholomew-fair, no Puppets would owne,
 But next Bartholomew-faire, who liveth to see,
 Shall view my Lord Mayor, a Puppet to bee.

In so little esteem was the law held by actors that the Salisbury Court company printed play-bills, which they posted in conspicuous places, announcing a performance of Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* for October 6 or, possibly, October 5. The company was perhaps made up of members of the old King's Men and Beeston's Boys⁴² who were at that time engaged in the publication of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio. In response to the advertisements, some young lords and other eminent persons, to say nothing of the common people in the pit, assembled at Salisbury Court. The impudence of the players, and probably the very name of the play, brought swift misfortune. The Lord Mayor Warner and the Sheriffs of London unexpectedly appeared, broke up the performance, and arrested Timothy Reed, the Fool. Financially, however, the players profited, for "the men and women with the boxes that took monies fled" at the first hint of danger, leaving the audience to cry out vainly for reimbursement of the price of admission.⁴³ The royalist news-books, themselves objects of stern censorship laws, comment on the raid with more or less bitterness. Strangely enough, *Mercurius Melancholicus* (October 2-9, p. 32) is lacking in sympathy. It said:

⁴² According to Fleay, *Chronicle History of the London Stage*, p. 365. Fleay and all other historians of the drama are disturbed because Collier (*Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, 1879, II, 37) gave two dates, 1644 and 1647, for this raid. The former date is merely a typographical error.

⁴³ "A Stage-Play was to have been acted in Salisbury Court this day [October 6] (and Bills stuck up about it) called *A King and no King*, formerly acted at the Black-Fryers, by his Majesties servants, about 8. yeares since, written by *Francis Beaumont*, and *Iohn Fletcher*.

"The Sheriffes of the City of *London* with their Officers went thither, and found a great number of people; some young Lords, and other eminent persons; and the men and women with the Boxes, [that took monies] fled. The Sheriffes brought away *Tim Reede* the Foole, and the people cryed

The Common Inns of sin, and Blasphemy, the *Playhouses* began to be custom'd again, and to act filthinesse and villanny to the life; but on Tuesday last [October 5] there appear'd more Actors then should be, (yet no Devills) at *Salisbury Court*, the Lord Mayjor and Sheriffe was there, who put the puppy-Players so out of countenance, that they had not one word to say; why should *Play houses* be cry'd up, and *Pamphlets* be cry'd down; are they bawdy-houses too?

But *Mercurius Pragmaticus* (October 5-12) confidently asserted that the Parliament's triumph was only temporary and that in another age its follies would be stripped and whipped:

Though the House hindred the Players this weeke from playing the old Play, *King*, and no *King*, at *Salisbury Court*, yet believe me,

*He that does live, shall see another Age,
Their Follies stript and whipt upon the Stage.*

The Parliament's triumph was not even temporary. The audacity of the players was no doubt responsible for the severe laws that followed. Had they been content to play secretly, observing due precautions against detection, they might have escaped anything further than an occasional raid. Openly to advertise plays was an insult too gross for the government to overlook. On October 18, further complaints were made to the Commons of the "bold Attempt of Stage-Players playing at Publick Houses in the City, contrary to Ordinance of Parliament," and this House immediately passed a severe law "for the better suppression of Stage-plays, Interludes and Common Players."⁴⁴ The *Moderate Intelligencer* (October 21-28) reported that on October 21 "The Ordinance for suppressing of Stage Plays, was concurred with by the Lords, there's an end of those Gamesters, there's Tragedies (though not Comedies) enough besides in *England* and *Ireland*."

As issued on October 22 this Ordinance⁴⁵ for the Suppressing of Stage-Plays authorized and required the Lord Mayor of London and the Justices of Peace and the Sheriffs of London, Westminster, and the Counties of Middlesex and Surrey to search all places where plays had been given, to arrest all persons who might be

out for their monies, but slunke away like a company of drowned Mice without it" (*Perfect Occurrence[s] of Every Daie iournall*, October 1-8, 1647). The brackets in the last paragraph occur in the original text.

⁴⁴ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, iv, ii, 844.

⁴⁵ Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, pp. 64-65.

proved to have acted in plays, and to bring such players before the next General Sessions of the Peace "to be punished as Rogues, according to law." *Mercurius Anti-Pragmaticus* (October 28-November 4), a periodical favoring Parliament, naturally enough approved of the order:

In the meane time that the Tragick Buskin, and Comick Sock be not worn, which is enough to make the Players to act their own Tragedie: were they noble now, I would counsell them to imitate the heroick acts of those they have personated, and each help destroy his fellow, since they are not onely silenced, but branded with a name of infamie, ROGUES; but this word perhaps doth the lesse distaste them, on consideration that a famous Queen bestowed upon them the same Epithete.

But the royalist pamphlets roundly denounced both Ordinance and Parliament. Said *Mercurius Pragmaticus* (October 26-November 2):

Unlesse the *houses* take some speciall Order, *Stage-playes* will never downe while the heavenly *Buffones* of the Presbyterie are in Action, all whose *Sermons* want nothing but *Sence* and *Wit*, to passe for perfect *Comedies*. And therefore seeing the *houses* condemne all *Stage-players* in an Ordinance, to be prosecuted as *common-Rogues* at the *Sessions*, I see no reason why *Rogues* should be parted.

Mercurius Elencticus (October 29-November 5) adopts a similar tone and, incidentally, shows that the Cockpit, too, had been open:

In the interim (that it may not be said they loyter in their great Worke of *Reformation*) they proceeded to a debate for the regulating of Play-houses: And for that end have thundred out an Ordinance, for the Lord Mayor, and the Justices of the Peace, to suppress Stage Playes, Interludes, and Common-Players: Wherein wee may observe how malicious men are one to another, that be of the same Profession. They of Westminster have Acted their parts now seaven yeares upon the stage of this Kingdome; inso-much that they have even tyred and wearyed out the Spectators, and are themselves ready to be hissed off the Stage, and yet they cannot endure that their Elder brethren of the *Cock-pit* should live by them; because their Actions consist of Harmelesse mirth and Loyalty, whilst themselves Act nothing but tragicall and treasonable Scenes of mischief and ruine to the whole Kingdome.

A daring printer got out a broadside called "The Cryes of Westminster. Or a Whole Pack of Parliamentary Knavery opened, and set to sale,"⁴⁶ in which one of the cries is:

⁴⁶ British Museum, 669. fol. 11 (128).

Buy a new Ordinance of the Commons, against S[t]age-players. New-lye printed, and new-lye come forth. Saints now alone must Act for Riches, The Plott out-smells old *Atkins* breches.

On January 1, 1648, the ordinance issued by Parliament on the preceding July 17 expired. Although the temper and the will of the Houses were obviously set on abolishing all plays, and although secrecy would have served a better purpose, actors at the Fortune, the Cockpit, Salisbury Court, and, presumably, the Red Bull, seized upon the expiration of the ordinance as an excuse to begin a series of public performances openly and, as it were, lawfully. For a week or two they were not molested. On January 22, however, the House of Commons was informed "that many Stage Playes were acted in the severall parts of the City, [and the] County of Middlesex, notwithstanding the Ordinance of Parliament to the contrary."⁴⁷ To make the situation more offensive, very eminent persons were among the regular patrons, and they drove to plays in their coaches, thus openly defying the Parliament. The *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* (January 18-25) remarked that "it is very observable, that on Sunday *January 23.* there were ten Coaches to heare Doctor *Ushur* at *Lincolns* Inne, but there were above sixscore Coaches on the last Thursday in Golden lane to heare the Players at the Fortune." ⁴⁸ *Mercurius Elencticus*⁴⁹ (January 19-26), a news-book hostile to Parliament, temperately stated that where a dozen coaches "tumble after Obadiah Sedgewick," seventy wheel

⁴⁷ *Perfect Diurnall*, January 17-24, 1647/8.

⁴⁸ Noticed by S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, III, 308.

⁴⁹ "But Col. *Baxter* is not more annoyed with his Soldiers *Posteriora*: then the *Members* are perplexed with the *Play-houses*: for since *Orthodox* Preaching was laid aside, the *People* find that they can *edifie* much more in hearing one *play*, then twenty of their best *Sermons* . . . So that where a dozen Coaches *Tumble* after *Obadiah Sedgewick*; Threescore are observed to *whee*le to the *Cockpit*, which is very offensive to the *Brethren*, which would seem to relish nothing but the *Languag* of *Canaan*: for since there is no man but sees their unheard-of *absurdities*, they are very *Icalous* to be personated on the *stage* (for that they feare would take a deep *impression* in the mind of the most simple people) And therefore the better to *ingrosse* all *fooleries* within their own *Orbe*, they have made an Additionall Order against *Stage-Playes* in *London* and *Middlesex*, and required the *Militia* to cause the *Benches* and *Boxes* in the *Play-houses* to be pull'd up by the *Ropes*: So that now no *Stages* must be *tollerated* but that at *Westminster*: None Act *Cataline* but themselves."

to the Cockpit. These figures show clearly the problem facing the Long Parliament. The suppression of theatres was a most unpopular measure, a measure that could be enforced only by incessant vigilance and espionage. The upper classes, as well as the middle and lower classes, for the most part objected to it; and openly countenanced violations of the law. Parliament hit upon the clever expedient of punishing auditors as well as actors.

Drastic measures were voted in the House of Commons; it ordered on January 22

that an Ordinance should be drawne for suppressing all Stage Playes and taking downe of all their Boxes, Stages, and Seats in the severall houses where the said Plays are usually acted, and make it unserviceable for acting any Playes in for the future, and for making a penalty for such as shall disobey the said Ordinance: And this Ordinance to be brought in with all convenient speed.

They further ordered that the Lord Mayor and Sheriffes and justices of the peace of the City of London and the severall Militiaes of the Cities of London and Westminster and likewise of the Hamletts, should take care for the suppressing of all Stage playes for the time to come.⁵⁰

At the same time the House of Commons renewed the old ordinance of July 17, 1647, and requested the concurrence of the House of Lords in this renewal.⁵¹ Editorially, *Mercurius Anti-Pragmaticus* (January 20-27) gloated at these acts:

And that the disobedient of what rank soever may be regulated, upon information given to the House, that many Stage-Plaies were acted in the severall parts of the City and County of Middlesex, notwithstanding they were prohibited from their fopperry by a former Ordinance, they ordered, that an Ordinance should be drawne up for suppressing all Stage-Plaies,

⁵⁰ *Perfect Diurnall*, January 17-24. Cf. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, January 20-27, p. 1126:

"There was great complaint of the reviving of Stage-plaies, and of many eminent persons that resorted thither, notwithstanding the Orders of the House: thereupon it was Ordered, that all the Play houses in and about the City, be, by pulling down the seates, and other utensils for that end, disabled: they will make good Churches, were not Devotion grown cold; the suppression of these Conventicles was referred to the severall Militias; and its but need, when at that great Play, where were so many Coaches, there was a great stir, how to frame a strict Oath, that might binde every way, and being at a stand, one called out, the Covenant, the Covenant, give them that."

⁵¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, January 21-28.

and for the taking downe of all their Boxes, Stages, and Seats whatsoever, that so there might be no more Plaies acted: and indeed these are no times to have publike Interludes permitted, when the hand of God lies so heavy upon us, and all the powers of hell in action against us, if those proud parroting Players cannot live, let them put their hands to worke, they are most of them a sort of superbious Ruffians given to all manner of wickednesse, and because sometimes the Asses are cloathed in Lions skins, the Dolts imagine themselves some body, walke in as great State, as *Caesar*, and demeane themselves as loftily as any of the twelve noble spirited Beasts of the wilderness; away with them and their actions on the publike Stage.

*For since we have suppress our Adjutators,
Let's part the Actors and the rude Spectators.*

The *Moderate Intelligencer* (January 20-27) thought that the theatres would "make good Churches, were not Devotion grown cold."

But *Mercurius Pragmaticus* (January 18-25), staunch as ever, scoffed at the activity of the Parliament:

But for feare all in time should be publish't upon the *house-Tops*, the Houses have new vamp't an *old Ordinance* for abolishing *Stage-Playes*; and to prevent the acting of any hereafter, the *Boxes* and *Scaffolds* in each *Play-house*, must be pull'd downe, except it be in their owne; because they have not plaid out all their parts yet, nor I neither, nor will I till they give over:

For, though in *Tragick* Plots they all combine,
Yet know the *Comick* part shall still be mine.

Mercurius Melancholicus (January 22-29) saw in the impending ordinances against plays, no less than in the laws aimed at the suppression of the press, nothing but the fears of a gang of hypocrites in Parliament that an uncensored stage and a free press would reveal their iniquities, drive the members away in disgrace, and restore the King to his throne. It said:

On *saturday* last the house acted their parts against all stage-players, commanding the boxes, stages, and seates, (except their own) to be made unserviceable for further acting; for to say the truth, Play-houses are worse then whipping-schooles, or the houses of correction; for there they lay open truth and falshood, in their naked colours, and scourge Iniquity untill he bleeds againe; there you may read the Parliament in print, there you may see Treason courting *Tyranny*, and Faction prostituted to *Rebellion*, there you may see (as in a Myrrour) all State-juglings, cleanly conveyances, and underhand dealings pourtray'd to the life; therefore Players

and Pamphleters, they must, they shall come down, the Parliament play-house is sufficient to lead the Kingdom a daunce without these.⁵³

The courage and persistence of these royalist pamphleteers is even more remarkable than that of the actors. One of them was Martin Parker, before the war a mere ballad-monger, but after the war began an "editor," who devoted every nerve to evading spies (in which he was not always successful) and in working for the restoration of the Stuart line.

The House of Lords was as eager to kill theatres as was the House of Commons. On January 29 their "Lordships passed an Ordinance for putting downe of Stage-Players, to punish them as *Rogues*, according to the Statute."⁵⁴ This they sent to the Commons on January 31 with a request for concurrence. The Lower House, however, rejected it in favor of a bill of their own making. The latter ordinance, with the concurrence of the House of Lords, was issued on February 9.⁵⁴ It is surprising to find that just while this anti-stage legislation was being debated in the Parliament a tragi-comedy was played at the Cockpit (on February 5), one of the distinguished auditors being John Evelyn.⁵⁵

The new ordinance capped the climax for severity.⁵⁶ It provided: (1) That all stage-players were *ipso facto* incorrigible rogues, liable to arrest at sight, to flogging, and to imprisonment under the statutes of Elizabeth and James I. Specifically, it directed that for a first offense in playing, actors were to be whipped publicly and

⁵³ Royalists never tired of comparing the Parliament to a playhouse comedy. Francis Kirkman merely echoed these pamphleteers when, in the preface to Webster and Rowley's *Thracian Wonder* (1661), he wrote:

"We have had the private Stage for some years clouded and under a tyrannical command, though the publick Stage of *England* has produc'd many monstrous villains, some of which have deservedly made their *exit*. I believe future Ages will not credit the transactions of our late Times to be other than a *Play*, or a *Romance*: I am sure in most Romantick Plays there hath been more probability, then in our true (though sad) Stories."

⁵⁴ *Perfect Occurrences*, January 28-February 4, 1647/8.

⁵⁵ *Perfect Diurnall*, January 31-February 7, 1647/8; Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, IV, ii, 936.

⁵⁶ John Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. Bray, I, 246.

⁵⁷ The text of the ordinance is in Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, IV, ii, 991; Hazlitt's *English Drama and Stage*, pp. 65 ff.; Firth and Rait's *Laws and Ordinances of the Interregnum*; etc. Though dated February 9, it was printed two days later.

then required to give security never to act again; or, in default of such security, to be sent to prison; for a second offense, they were to be punished as incorrigible rogues within the meaning of the statutes. These penalties were to be inflicted on players whether they were "wanderers or no, and notwithstanding any license whatsoever from the King or any person or persons to that purpose."

(2) That the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Justices of Peace of London, Westminster, and the Counties of Middlesex and Surrey demolish all stage-galleries, seats, and boxes in the theatres in and about London. (3) That all sums of money taken in as admission fees from spectators at plays be seized and paid to the churchwardens of the parish in which the play was given, to be applied to the relief of the parish poor. (4) That every person proved, either by his own confession or by the testimony of one witness, to have attended a play as a spectator be fined five shillings, and that the fine so collected be applied to the relief of the poor in the parish where the offender lived.

The law of February 9, temporarily at least, created consternation in the ranks of the actors. Certain persons thought that the actors and their families then in London—about a hundred persons in all—would inevitably starve. *Mercurius Elencticus* (February 9-16) bitterly commented:

On *Wednesday* last they [the Parliament] fortified the Old *Ordinance* for suppressing of *Stage-plays*. They have pronounced the *Players* to be *Rogues*, thinking by this Meanes to make them *Theeves*, and then theile find out an easier way to be rid of them. These poore Men were most of them initiated, and bred up in this *quality* from their *Childhood* for the service of the *King* and *Queen*, and very few of them have any other meanes of subsistence; so that they and their Families (being about 100. Persons) must inevitably starve: But this is all the *Charity* I ever heard of, that yet they afforded to the *Kings* servants, *plunder* them of what they had, and then turne them a *grazing*.

Mercurius Pragmaticus (February 8-15), with a contempt for laws born of its own successful appearances in print, jeered at the Parliament for attempting to hide its viciousness by crushing the stage that otherwise would expose it.

And to witnesse unto the world how perfectly they hate a *King*, they are resolved for the time to come, after the *Tragedy* of this, never to admit of one, so much as in *Comedy* again. And therefore on *wednesday* laet the grand *Ordinance* against *Stage-plays* was hastened into the *Housc*; which

ordains, that all *Players* shall, for the first offence, be committed & and [sic] *Fined*, and for the second be *whipped*. And though this course seem too harsh against such harmlesse *recreations*; yet, as some thinke,

*The reason why Playes must be lash't downe,
For feare themselves be whipt about the Towne.*

In like vein a broadside entitled "*Troy-Novant must not be Burnt*"⁵⁷ (May 8, 1648), told the Parliament:

you Vote down Playes,
That we may not know the valour of those dayes.
Because your sniffing worships want⁵⁸ let see
No *Plays*, we'll now go Act the *Tragady*.

But the dismay of the players soon passed, leaving them more determined than ever to continue their performances. And in this determination they were largely successful.

On July 26 the House of Commons directed the Committee of the Militia of Westminster to proceed immediately, with whatever forces they thought fit, to demolish the stages, boxes, scaffolds, seats and forms of the London and Middlesex playhouses, and directed Major-General Skippon to advise the Committee and "to assist them with Horse, if Need be."⁵⁹ Presumably these orders were carried out, but the actors went merrily on with their plays. By September 1 it was necessary for Parliament to take further steps. On that day the Commons appointed a Committee charged with the execution of the laws against stage-plays. Bitter complaints of the pertinacity of the players were made: the House of Commons was informed "that Stage-playes were daily acted, either at the *Bull* or *Fortune*, or the private House at *Salisbury-Court*."⁶⁰ "Then Complaint was made that *Stage-playes* were stil *Acted*," commented *Mercurius Elencticus* (September 13-20). "Why should they not? May none *Play* the *Fool* but themselves?" No less bitter was the feeling against "scandalous Books and Ballads [which were] daily published," in spite of drastic and long-continued censorship laws.⁶¹ In August Gilbert Mabbott, Licenser of the Press, unable

⁵⁷ British Museum, 669 fol. 12 (21). Further comments are given in *Perfect Occurrences*, February 11-18, and *Perfect Diurnall*, February 7-14.

⁵⁸ I. e., won't.

⁵⁹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, v, 648.

⁶⁰ *Perfect Occurrences*, September 1-8, p. 434.

⁶¹ *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, September 12-19.

to cope with the flood of unlicensed books and ballads, had suggested that special police under a special provost-marshal be appointed.⁶² Mabbott himself declined the office so created; and on September 13 Francis Bethen was designated provost-marshal, furnished with twenty-one assistants, and empowered within twenty miles of London to seize all persons connected with the production, publication and distribution of scandalous books and ballads and all stage-players. Bethen was to be paid five shillings a day, his deputy three shillings fourpence, and his twenty men eighteen pence each.⁶³

But he'll never succeed, said a news-book with the misleading title of *The Parliament Porter* (September 18-25):

[My language will] perhaps hasten Capt. *Bethen* the Commander of twenty rogues (such as were never condemned to the Galleis or or [*sic*] the Gallows) to the performance of his odious task, *viz.* the seizing upon all honest books and ballads which speak plain English to the people . . . ; the suppressing of Stage-playes, honest and harmlesse recreations, as that renowned *Q. Elizabeth* stiled them, (I speak not in the justification of that prophane vile Commedy, called the *Puritans of Amsterdam*, or any of that kind) knowing that the people of themselves are too apt to scoffe at the profession of godlinesse, but I say that it is the lustre and glory of our Nation to have vertue extolled and vice deprodated even upon the publike Theater, for to no other end an illaborate Comedy or Tragedy ought to be written or presented to the view of the vulgar, and I wish it may be the care both of present & future Actors to condemn to silence all obscaene or irreligious plays, so shall the Commick Sock and Tragick Buskin be an adornment, & not a badge of contempt, as their ignorant enemies maliciously divulge.

But if *Bethen* go on his employment, what a wretch will he remain upon record?

Mercurius Pragmaticus (September 12-19) refused to be impressed by this appointment of "a certain *Provost Marshall*, to run the round of their Jurisdiction (as the *Devill* doth) compassing the *Cittie* to and fro, . . . to prevent all *Stage-Plaies*, that no *Tragedies* may be acted but their own, and suppress all honest *Books* and *Ballads*, lest the sinnes of such as pretend to have no sin, should be *stript* before the People, and spoyle the glory of their *Saintships*." Meanwhile, as if in irony, *Perfect Occurrences*⁶⁴

⁶² J. B. Williams, *History of English Journalism*, pp. 99-100.

⁶³ *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, September 12-19, 1648, p. 1083.

⁶⁴ December 8-15 and December 27, 1648.

brought the news that the imprisoned King at Windsor Castle "is most delighted with *Ben Johnson's* playes, of any bookes that are here" and that "the King is pretty merry, and spends much time in reading . . . *Shakspeare* and *Ben: Johnsons* Playes."

The twenty-two spies were not able immediately to carry out with complete success any part of their task: probably most of their time was devoted to searching for the authors, printers, and vendors of loyalist pamphlets, which because of the venom of their language were without question far more objectionable to Parliament than either plays or ballads. For a time there was little or no diminution in the performances at theatres. In the *Historia Histrionica* James Wright says that "when the Wars were over, and the Royalists totally Subdued; most of 'em [the actors] who were left alive gather'd up to *London*, and for a Subsistence endeavour'd to revive their Old Trade, privately." In the winter of 1648—though the occupation of London by the army should have increased the difficulties of stage-playing—"they ventured to Act some Plays with as much caution and privacy as cou'd be, at the *Cockpit*. They continu'd undisturbed for three or four Days; but at last as they were presenting the Tragedy of the *Bloudy Brother*, (in which *Lowin* Acted *Aubrey*, *Tayler* *Rollo*, *Pollard* the Cook, *Burt* *Latorch*, and I think *Hart* *Otto*) a Party of Foot Souldiers beset the House, surprized 'em about the middle of the Play, and carried 'em away in their habits, not admitting them to Shift, to *Hatton-house* then a Prison, where having detain'd them sometime, they Plunder'd them of their Cloths and let 'em loose againe."

It appears that captured actors were, in spite of the severity of the laws, treated with comparative leniency and were almost invariably released from prison after no long delay. Nothing but prolonged imprisonment could have kept players from attempting stage-performances, but—as in the case of the pamphleteers who, though continually being arrested and imprisoned, nearly always managed to escape—prisons do not seem to have had great terrors for them. Wright says further that "they used to Act privately, three or four Miles, or more, out of Town, now here, now there, sometimes in Noblemens Houses, in particular *Holland-house* at *Kensington*, where the Nobility and Gentry who met (but in no great Numbers) used to make a Sum for them, each giving a broad Peice, or the like. And *Alexander Goffe*, the Woman Actor at

Blackfriars, (who had made himself known to Persons of Quality) used to be the Jackal and give notice of Time and Place. At Christmass, and Bartlemew-fair, they used to Bribe the Officer who Commanded the Guard at *Whitehall*, and were thereupon connived at to Act for a few Days, at the *Red Bull*; but were sometimes notwithstanding Disturb'd by Soldiers." ⁶⁵ It seems reasonable to suppose that bribery played a large part in the success with which the Red Bull held open its doors throughout the Commonwealth period. The occasional raids which it suffered may often have been a sort of blackmail.

Some of the older actors "pickt up a little Money by publishing the Copies of Plays never before Printed, but kept up in Manuscript," as the Beaumont and Fletcher folio edited by John Lowin and Joseph Taylor, "wherein they modestly intimate their Wants. And that with sufficient Cause; for whatever they were before the Wars, they were, after, reduced to a necessitous Condition." Other persons, like the intrepid poet-newslinger Samuel Sheppard, did not waste time in lamenting the eclipse of the playhouses where the wit of Jonson and Fletcher had reigned,—

Which once a Hackney Coach convey'd you to,
Where you sate scorning all the raine could doe,—

but instead wrote and boldly signed abbreviated plays attacking Parliament, such as *The Committee-Man Curried. A Comedy presented to the view of all Men. Written by S. Sheppard* and *The Second Part of the Committee-Man Curried* (printed July 16 and August 14, 1647). These particular plays are quartos of thirteen and twelve pages respectively, are divided into five acts, and include among the *dramatis personae* Suck-dry, a Committee-man; Common-curse, an Excise-man; Loyalty, a Cavalier; and Rebellion, a Roundhead. The prologue to the first play bitterly denounces the Parliament for suppressing plays and making it so that "Fooles onely speake *Cum privilegio*." In another satirical play—*Women Will Have their Will: Or, Give Christmas his Due* (December 12,

⁶⁵ Fleay (*Chronicle History of the London Stage*, p. 354) says that the King's players were seized on December 20, 1648, while playing *Rollo* (or *The Bloody Brother*) at the Cockpit. I have no date for this raid, which Fleay himself obviously took from Wright's *Historia Histrionica*. Notice of a raid on December 20, 1649, is given below.

1648)—Mrs. Custom asks Mrs. New-Come: "You say that the Parliament hath power to pull down *Christmas*; I pray then what will they put up in the roome on't, Stage-Playes, Dancing upon the Ropes, & *Hocus Pocus*?" *A Key to the Cabinet of the Parliament* (1648), however, ironically declares: "We need not any more stage-plays: we thank [the Puritans] for suppressing them: they save us money; for I'll undertake we can laugh as heartily at Foxley, Peters, and others of their godly ministers, as ever we did at Cane at the Red Bull, Tom Pollard in the *Humourous Lieutenant*, Robins in the *Changling*, or any humorist of them all."⁶⁶

On January 1—the day on which Parliament passed the order for the trial of Charles I—soldiers broke up performances at the Cockpit and Salisbury Court, and carried away the actors in their stage-costumes as prisoners to Whitehall. Of the actor who played the rôle of a king we are told that the soldiers "tooke the Crown off his head; yet sometimes put it on againe"—an act of ominous prophecy. Among the audiences at the two playhouses were many ladies and some of the exempted members of Parliament. The former were greatly frightened by the raid, but, as customarily, the soldiers conducted themselves civilly to all but the actors. Apparently no fines were collected from the audience.⁶⁷ Two days later, "the Players taken by the Army were ordered to put in Bail to appear before the Lord Major to answer their Actions according to Law."⁶⁸ Of their punishment I find no record, but it can hardly have been more than a flogging or a brief imprisonment.

The two raids had an amusing sequel. They were immediately followed by a clever pamphlet called *Mr William Prynne His De-*

⁶⁶ Quoted from Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, 1879, II, 38.

⁶⁷ "The souldiers of the Army, in prosecution of an Ordinance of Parliament, secured all the Players in Salisbury court and Drury lane, and brought them away prisoners in the midst of their Acts in their Robes as then habited" (*Perfect Diurnall*, January 1-8, 1649; quoted also in Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, IV, ii, 1381, and in Whitelock's *Memorials*).

"The Souldiers this day surprised the Players in Salisbury Court and Drury lane, and brought them prisoners to Whitehall, in their attire, Fools in theirs, and the King in theirs, but tooke the Crown off his head; yet sometimes put it on againe. The Ladies were in a great fear, but had no hurt: Some of the exempted Members of Parliament were there" (*Perfect Occurrences*, December 29-January 5, p. 784).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 787.

*fence of Stage-Plays, Or A Retraction of a former Book of his called Histrio-mastix.*⁶⁹ The anonymous author imitated Prynne's style very well indeed, and may for a moment have led his readers to believe that Prynne was actually recanting. The *Defence* protests vigorously against the army which "did lately [*i. e.*, on January 1] in a most inhumane, cruell, rough, and barbarous manner take away the poor Players from their Houses [the Cockpit and Salisbury Court], being met there to discharge the duty of their callings." "That honest Playes may be tolerated, and not to be forbidden by any Army under heaven," it asserts, "I do maintain before all the world . . . this wicked and tyrannical Army ought not to hinder, to impede, let, prohibit, or forbid the acting of them; which I dare maintain to all the world; for I was never afrayd to suffer in a good cause." The outraged author of *Histrio-mastix* replied on January 10, 1649, with a sheet called "The Vindication of William Prynne, Esquire,"⁷⁰ disowning the *Defence*, and describing it as "a scandalous Paper" written "by some imprisoned Stage-Players, or agents of the army."

Meanwhile, Captain Bethen and his assistants had entered vigorously upon their duties. With the news-pamphlets, which actually increased in number after his appointment,⁷¹ Bethen was for a time unsuccessful; but ballad-singing was crushed completely, ballad-printing greatly decreased, and the chief offending playhouses were, as the law had directed, partially wrecked. The seats, boxes, galleries, and stages of the Cockpit, Salisbury Court, and the Fortune were demolished in March, 1649. A contemporary observer states that "the play house in Salsbury Court, in fleetstreete, was pulled downe by a company of Souldiers, set on by the Sectuaries of these sad times, On Saturday the 24 day of March. 1649. The Phenix [or Cockpit] in Druery Lane, was pulled downe also this day . . . by the same Souldiers"; and that the Fortune was "now pulled downe on the in-side by the Souldiers this 1649."⁷² This is the first known application of the ordinance of February 9, 1648, and of the subsequent order issued by the House of Commons on

⁶⁹ Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, pp. 266 ff.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 271.

⁷¹ J. B. Williams, *History of English Journalism*, p. 111.

⁷² *London Academy*, XXII, 315; Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, pp. 380 f.

July 17, 1648, directing the pulling-down of boxes, stages, and galleries. Bethen's act must have added greatly to the difficulties of the players.

The Fortune, indeed, so far as stage-performances are concerned, came to an end at this time. It had passed into the ownership of Dulwich College at Edward Alleyn's death in 1626; but in the years following the anti-stage laws the lessees, unable to give plays, had refused to pay rent. Lisle, who had leased the theatre for £120 yearly, in 1649 tried to secure permission to "conuert the said playhouse to some other vse, whereby he might raise the Rent due for the same"; but the College refused, demanding that the rent still be paid "in the nature of a Playhouse."⁷³ Shortly afterward, the College took formal possession of the house, the rent then being in arrears of more than £974. In 1650 the poor of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields petitioned that the old playhouse be turned over to them as a place of worship, but were refused. The Fortune was razed to the ground in 1662.⁷⁴

Two new civil provost-marshals were appointed by Parliament on June 6, 1649. They were to serve for one year at a salary of £100 each, to have twelve regular assistants at one shilling per day, and to be given other assistants if required.⁷⁵ Very severe ordinances against printing followed, so that at the end of the year 1649 only two royalist periodicals were in existence; two others appeared early in 1650; but by June, 1650, all the royalist papers had been exterminated.⁷⁶ Unlicensed printing was not, however, totally crushed. Of its success in attaining this end the Parliament could hardly have boasted; for all its efforts ended in miserable failure. Of the enormous number of unlicensed single sheets and pamphlets that evaded the searchers, a goodly share took the form of playlets which outrageously abused the leaders of the army and Parliament and loyally spoke for Charles II.

To see how much Cromwell and his associates were asked to forgive and countenance, consider the conclusion to the *Cuckows Nest at Westminster*⁷⁷ (1648). There Queen Fairfax cries out:

⁷³ *Notes and Queries*, 10th Series, I, 85.

⁷⁴ Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, pp. 290 f.

⁷⁵ *Perfect Occurrences*, May 25-June 1, 1649; *Man in the Moon*, June 5-13, 1649.

⁷⁶ J. B. Williams, *History of English Journalism*, pp. 120, 127, 129, 133.

⁷⁷ *Harleian Miscellany*, V, 550.

Thou a Queen, thou a Queen? Udsfoot, Minion, hold your Clack from Prating Treason against me, or I will make Mrs. *Parliament* lay her Ten Commandments upon thee? Thou a Queen, a Brewer's Wife a Queen? That Kingdom must needs be full of Drunkards, when the King is a Brewer? My *Tom* is nobly descended, and no base Mechanick.

To which Mrs. Cromwell retorts in kind:

Mechanick? Mechanick in thy Face; thou art a Whore to call me Mechanick; I am no more a Mechanick than thyself; Marry come up, Mother *Damnable*, *Joan Ugly*; must you be Queen? Yes, you shall; Queen of *Puddledock*, or *Billingsgate*, that is fittest for thee; My *Noll* has won the Kingdom, and he shall wear it, in despite of such a Trollop as thou art.

Then "Enter a Servant running," who announces the death of Cromwell and Fairfax, the imminent restoration of Charles I, and the two women fly in fear. Similar in tone and plot is an eight-page *Tragi-Comedy called New-Market-Fayre, Or A Parliament Out-Cry* (June 15, 1649),—a coarse, but really amusing, attack on Cromwell, Fairfax, and other prominent members of the government, all of whom at the end of the play hear of Charles II's triumphs and commit suicide. *The Second Part of the Tragi-Comedy, Called New-Market-Fayre. Or Mrs. Parliaments New Figaries. Written by the Man in the Moon* consists of only twenty pages, but boasts of five acts and ten scenes. The prologue declares with truth that it

cannot chuse but make proud *rebels* rage,
To see themselves thus acted on the Stage.

The actors here are two loyalists, Fairfax, Cromwell ("Possessed with Devils"); Ireton, Hewson, and Pride ("Three Traytours"); Lady Fairfax and Mrs. Cromwell, with their Maids of Honor, Ruth Incontinence and Abigail Concupiscence; and others. The play ends with a revolt of the people, who drive out these traitors and cry, "Let's Petition our King home."⁷⁸ Perhaps some of these

⁷⁸ Of like nature is *A Bartholomew Fairing* (August 30, 1649), a twenty-eight-page play, in which occurs the remark (p. 7):

Bishops and *Plays* were in a day put down,
I well remember; and *Bull baytings* allow'd:
These are no wanton sports.

James Howell, in his *A Perfect Description of the People . . . of Scotland* (June 14, 1649, p. 7), remarks: "They hold their Noses, if you talk of Bear-baiting, and stop their Ears, if you speak of a Play."

brief plays were performed (what better could the noblemen who hired actors at their private homes want?). In any case, it is no wonder that every effort was made to crush a press that indulged in libels like these and a theatre which countenanced them. One sympathizes with the Parliament's anger, but admires the Royalists' pluck.

A further disaster to the players is recorded on December 20, when a group of them who were playing "near St. John's Street" (evidently at the Red Bull) were informed on, with the result that soldiers arrested them, confiscated their swords and costumes, and carried them to prison.⁷⁹

Naturally enough, no news-books mentioned the performances that were given in London without molestation. But from the large number of raids that are reported during the next few years it is evident that at the Red Bull and Salisbury Court—to say nothing of private houses—plays were given with tolerable frequency. The policy of complete suppression never succeeded, though acting was always attended with danger of arrest, flogging, and imprisonment. Parliament, however, was inflexible in its attitude toward the stage. One of the most interesting documents yet discovered⁸⁰ is the petition of Cockpit and Blackfriars players, dating about 1650, praying Parliament to allow them liberty to act and offering to produce no play without first submitting it to official censors.

To the Supream Authoritie the Parliament of the Common-wealthe of England The humble Petition of diverse poor and distressed men, heretofore the Actors of Black-Friers and the Cock-Pit. Sheweth,

That your most poor Petitioners, having long suffered in extream want, by being prohibited the use of their qualitie of Acting, in which they were trained up from their childhood, whereby they are uncapable of any other way to get a subsistance, and are now fallen into such lamentable povertie, that they know not how to provide food for themselves, their wives and children: great debts being withall demanded of them, and they not in a condition to satisfie the creditours; and without your mercifull and present permission, they must all inevitably perish.

⁷⁹ "There being some Actores privatly playing neer St. Iohns street, whereof one giving information to some Soldiers, some Troopers went from the Mewes seized upon the Players, and took away their Sword and Cloths" (*A Perfect Diurnall*, December 17-24, 1649, p. 18). Mentioned also in Whitelocke's *Memorials of the English Affairs*, 1732, p. 435.

⁸⁰ By Professor C. H. Firth, who printed it in *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, V, 464, and thinks the date is probably 1650.

May it therefore please this Honourable House to commiserate their sad and distressed condition, and to vouchsafe them a Libertie to Act but some small time (for their triall of inoffensiveness) onely such morall and harmless representations, as shall no way be distastfull to the Commonwealth or good manners. They humbly submitting themselves to any one of knowing judgement and fidelitie to the State, appointed to oversee them and their actions, and willing to contribute out of their poor endeavours, what shall be thought fit and allotted them to pay weekly or otherwise, for the service of Ireland, or as the State shall think fitting.

And as in dutie they are ever bound, shall pray, &c.

But the petition brought no favorable response, and illegal performances were perforce continued. The chance of flogging and imprisonment taken by the actors and of fines by the audience added a bit of spice that appealed to everybody.

On January 21, 1650, a play at the Red Bull was broken up; the lords, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen who made up the audience were forced to give their names so that fines or other punishment could be properly determined on; and Andrew Cane and six or seven other players were carried off to prison. Two or three companies of soldiers are said to have participated in this raid, and with the players' robes impaled on their pikes marched away in their pride. The comments of two royalist news-books on this episode are too droll to omit. *Mercurius Pragmaticus* (*For King Charles II*)⁸¹ says:

If you be destitute of somthing to do, you [Parliament] may go hang your selves for a pastime to the people; I believe you would have more spectators then the *Players* in *St. John's street*; yes and Lords and Ladies too would laugh more to see the *Juncto* and State hang, then any Play in the world Acted.

But your own Play-houses at *Westminster*, *Whitehall*, *Darby-house*, *Somerset-house*, &c. are the only Stages where Players must come, and who those players must be, I'll tell you; all in Parliament Robes K—s F—s⁸² and Rebels; those are the men now in request: *Andr. Cane* is out of date & all other his complices: alas poor players they are acting their parts in prison, for their presumptions to break a Parliament Crack. On Tuesday *Janu.* 21. 1649. bee it known unto all men, the State *Janizaries* rob'd the Play-house in *St Johns streete*, imprisoned the Players, and listed all the Lords, Ladies and Gentlewomen, who are either to serve the States or pay money, if their mightynesse please to command it for so

⁸¹ January 22-29, 1649/50, Part 2, No. 39. There is a further account of this raid in *Severall Proceedings in Parliament*, January 18-25, p. 227.

⁸² Sic in the original. Perhaps "Knaves, Fools."

great a contempt as breaking an Act made upon the Stage at *Westminster*.

Me thinks the Supreme Poppet-players of State should have something else in their minds then suppressing Playes.

The Man in the Moon (January 23-31)²³ tells the story amusingly and at considerable length:

Sure the *Play* at *Westminster* is almost at an end, for the *Foole* hath done his *part*, and is fetch'd off the *Stage* with a *vengeance*; Exit *Philip* the *Foole*, but a knavish one Ile promise you; which made the *Tragedians* at *Westminster-Hall* presently so mad for him; that they thought, the hideous *Storm* that fetch'd him away, had carried him to those other *Comedians* in *Saint Johns* street: which drove them presently thither, with two or three *Companies* of the *Rebells*; seized on the poore *Players*, uncased them of their *Cloaths*, disarmed the *Lords* and *Gentlemen* of their *Swords* and *Cloakes*; but finding him not to be there, they hung the poore *Players* *Cloathes* upon their *Pikes*, and very manfully marched away with them as *Trophies* of so wonderfull a *victory*: there was taken at this *Fight* about seven or eight of the chiefe *Actors*, some wounded, all their *Cloaths* and *Properties*, without the losse of one man on our side; onely at their returne with their *spoiles* and *prisoners*, one of our *Souldiers* being left behind by reason of some plunder, was taken up with the sight of a *Riding* at *Smithfield-Barres*: where, one that acted *Sir Thomas* [*Fairfax*?] a horse-back, with a *Ladle* in his hand, two *Baskets* of *Prides* *Graines* before him, and his *Dowie* riding with her face to the horse tayle behind; one of them flung a *Ladle* of *Graines* in our *Commanders* face: which he took to be a great affront to a *Souldier* that had so lately routed the *Players*, that he furiously drew his *Sword* (he had stole from the *Play-house*) and began to sweare and vapour: which a *Butchers Boy* perceiving, presently disarm'd him, made him swallow his *Graines* and be thankfull, and after some certain *Kicks* of *Indignation*, broke his sword over his *Coxcombe*, and sent him to *Pauls* to complaine to his *Fellowes*: and if this *Souldier* scape (as the *Surgeon* is something doubtfull) there will questionlesse come forth an *Act* for a *Thanksgiving* for this wonderfull *Victory* over the poore *Players*, and the *Souldiers* deliverance.

I have found no other reference to mobs that took the part of the actors against the soldiery. Almost a year after this riot (November 13, 1650) Charles Cutts, a barber of St. Martin's parish, was arrested "redy drest in cloths and goeing to act a stage-playe as hee confesseth himself." For this violation of the law recogni-

²³ No. 40, pp. 313-314. The "fool" referred to was Philip, Earl of Pembroke. There is a very scurrilous ballad on his death in one of Thomason's pamphlets, *The Rebells Warning Piece* (E. 593/13).

zances of £40 from Cutts and of £20 from each of two other persons were exacted for the player's appearance at the next General Sessions of Westminster.⁸⁴

The repertory of the actors was made up almost wholly of old plays, unless an occasional brief satirical comedy like those already mentioned was included, and of excerpts from them, or "drolls." Literary men, then, deeply resented the restrictions on plays that limited their own work. Of William Cartwright's *Comedies*, printed in 1651, Joseph Howe said, in laudatory verses prefixed to the book, that they would have made "Play-seeing th' only *London Trade*"

Had this Scene-Wit not met an Age
That frowneth down the mourning Stage,
That all Dramatick Lawes confutes,
And maketh All the Actors Mutes.

Robert Bacon, in his *Poems* (1650),⁸⁵ addressed lines "To my Honour'd Friend Benjamin Garfield" that summed up the position of the literati. Plays, he said, are still being written, but the mere writing is not enough: plays are made not to be read but to be acted.

I wish the Actors may
As well as thou hast written, make the Play.
Playes written are not finished, made they are
I' th' study first, next on the Theater.

Many plays, indeed, were written and published during the interregnum. Davenant's *Unfortunate Lovers* was printed in 1643, his *Love and Honour* in 1649; Quarles's *Virgin Widow* appeared in 1649; Shirley's *Triumph of Beauty* in 1646, to be followed by six previously unpublished plays in 1653 and still others in 1655 and 1659. The Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647, various editions of Richard Brome's plays in 1653, Killigrew's *Conspiracy* (1653), and Sir Aston Cokayne's plays in 1659 may also be mentioned. A number of these printed plays were advertised in newspaper pamphlets, like *Several Proceedings of State Affairs*, that were published under the authority of Parliament itself,—a fact that seems somewhat inconsistent with that body's ardent hostility

⁸⁴ *Middlesex County Records*, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson, III, 198.

⁸⁵ Page 114.

toward the stage.⁸⁶ The same pamphlets, too, often carried reports of plays given among the exiled Royalists, though usually in a hostile tone. *Mercurius Politicus*, for example, on February 1-8, 1655, printed the following report:

From Brussels, Feb. 8. stilo novo.

We are here taken up with Plays, Balls, Feasts, and businesses of that nature, to divert the Queen of *Sweden* withal. But in the mean time that they are busie here in spending their time with Plays and such kind of fopperies, the *French* are acting their tragedy in the field to the prejudice of the *Spaniards*.

Private performances of plays were, it is evident, not at all uncommon. Thus Abraham Cowley's *Guardian*, printed in 1650 and revised after the Restoration as *The Cutter of Coleman Street*, was, so Cowley himself states, several times privately acted during the interregnum; and the gentlemen of the Inner Temple performed a masque privately in November, 1651.⁸⁷

By complaints of the literary men, by burlesque plays published in pamphlet form, by sarcastic passages in news-books, by ballads, and by private or surreptitious performances, the theatre was kept prominently in the thoughts of London people, who had lost none of their old love for drama. Players themselves were still so common as to be regarded fit subjects for puritanical tirades against vanity, pride in apparel, and hypocrisy. "What new-found creatures have we walking in our streets now a-dayes with *Peacocks-tayles* before their Codpeeces, Ribbon'd, and braided, as if the *Players* (being forbidden the Stage) should now act Comoedies in the streets?" asked one.⁸⁸ *The Laughing Mercury* (September 8-16, 1652) devoted some space to a consideration of whether acting makes a man insincere:

There was lately a great Dispute between some *Actors* of *Tragedies* and other new-sprung *Sects*, which were the greatest *Impostors*? The *Players* alledged, That the disguise of the *minde* was far worse then that of the *body*; and that they did really seem to be *Actors*, and when their *Visards* and brave *Apparrell* was taken off; they would appear to be at best but

⁸⁶ E. g., *Perfect Diurnall*, May 9-16, 1652, and May 16-23, 1653; *Several Proceedings*, June 16-23, 1653.

⁸⁷ S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, II, 11-12.

⁸⁸ *Mercurius Heraclitus*, July 5-12, 1652, p. 22.

hyred to Act their Parts for a little silver; but such *Sects* wearing their *disguises* inwardly, cannot (as the *Players*) put them off and on at Pleasure; Besides the *Players* Act in jeast, but the *Hypocrite* in earnest; yet both for lucre of *gain*.

That one actor was far from being impoverished by the laws suppressing his profession seems to be suggested by an item in the satirical list of important events given in Ralph Desmus's almanac, *Merlinus Anonymus* (November 18, 1653): "Thomson the player died of the govvt, 1652."⁸⁹

Most of the records reproduced in this paper deal with the London stage, but no satisfactory history of the Commonwealth drama can be written until some one has made a thorough study of the enforcement of the laws against actors in the provinces. That in many English provincial towns stage-players were treated with great severity, under the old laws against rogues and vagabonds, is evident even from the few instances I have found. For example, in Yorkshire, on January 20, 1652, "four men, apprehended at Well acting an Interlude, [were ordered] to be carried to Well and there whipt till their bodies be bloody, for rogues, and the Constable, with the Minister and other sufficient men of the town, to see this done, and the men to have passes given them to Richmond, the place of their abode." At Kirbymoore, Yorkshire, on January 9, 1654, "two Keabecke men" and "two Sutton men and a Kilvington man" were imprisoned for playing "interludes." At the Quarter Sessions at Richmond on January 12, 1656, eight men were ordered whipped, "being, on their own confession, convict for being common Players of Interludes, and rogues by the Statute"; while proceedings were ordered to be instituted against all constables who had failed to arrest "any common Players of Interludes." In January, 1657, two players were "stript from the middle upwards and whipt, in the markt place of Hemsley."⁹⁰

Equally remarkable is the following account,⁹¹ published in the *Public Intelligencer* for January 14-21, 1656, of how Newcastle Justices punished players:

A Letter from New Oastle upon Tine, Jan. 10 [1656].

I here send you a piece of Exemplary Justice, which as it sets a copy to

⁸⁹ British Museum, E. 1487 (1), sig. B8v.

⁹⁰ *North Riding Records*, V, 101, 173, 209, 260. Cf. also, p. 212.

⁹¹ Noted also by C. H. Firth in *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, VI, 123.

other Majestrates of this Nation, so also cannot be unfitly thought communicable to you. On the 28. of *December*, a cluster of lewd fellowes, adventuring to act a Comedy within the Precincts and bounds of this Town; daring, as it were authority, and outfacing Justice; our vigilant Magistrates hearing of it, resolved to set a boundary to their sinful courses, and clip the harvest of their hopes; concluding such enormities, the proper nurseries of impiety; and therefore they repair to the place, where having begun, *Alderman Robert Johnson*, Mr. Sheriff, and divers godly men step in to see their sport, but their sudden approach often changed the scene, both of their play and countenances, so that the interlude proving ominous, boded no less than a Tragedy to the Actors; turning the play into a Tragi-comedy; after they had done they were apprehended, and examined before the Mayor, and other Justices of the Peace, and found guilty of being common players of Interludes, according to a statute made in the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, and according to Law, adjudged to be whipt; which accordingly was performed on the publick Market place, where a great confluence of people thronged to see them act the last part of their play, their robes of honour hanging in publick view.

Therefore let the Nation know their names, and habitations, that all that have converse with them may look upon them to be such as the law of the Land hath concluded them to be, Rogues and Vagabonds, as followeth:

John Blaiklock of Jesmond,
John Blaiklock of Jesmond his son, both Papists.
James Moorhead of Newcastle,
Edward Liddel of Jesmond, a Papist,
James Edwards of Usebourn.
Thomas Rawkstraw of Newcastle.
Richard Byerly of Usebourn.

All whipt in Newcastle for Rogues and Vagabonds.

To return to London! On May 25, 1652, William Beeston—formerly Governor of the Boys at the Cockpit—bought the Salisbury Court playhouse from John Herne for £408.⁹² Henceforth it had no part that can be traced in the history of the Commonwealth drama. Actors still gave an occasional performance at the Cockpit in Drury Lane but concentrated—when not playing outside the City or in private houses—more and more on the Red Bull, a playhouse that was never closed for a long period during the entire interregnum. In the weekly news-pamphlets published by John Crouch, a printer with royalist sympathies, advertisements of proposed performances, usually at the Red Bull, are frequently inserted.⁹³ Per-

⁹² Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 381.

⁹³ Even after the Restoration *Mercurius Democritus* continued these advertisements; e. g., in its issue for May 22, 1661, p. 7 (Burney 56A).

haps Crouch thought that, except to the initiated eye, his announcements would be lost, or classed as jokes, among the filth, scurrility, or nonsense that made up the bulk of his *Laughing Mercury*, *Mercurius Democritus*, and *Mercurius Fumigosus*. Such might well have been true of this notice of a droll in *Democritus* on March 23-30, 1653:

There is a *Welsh Hobby-Horse* that is to sing *Ballads* in *Smithfield Round* to the Tune of *Topsy-tur-vy*, all that are delighted with such *Mad-rigalls*, may come and return with safety.

The phrase "may come and return with safety" Crouch often inserted as a special inducement to attract a crowd; but his predictions were not always, as we shall see, fulfilled.

In its issue for December 16-22, 1652, *Mercurius Democritus* advertised that

There is to be seen at the red *Bull* in *St. Johns street* on Thursday next the Rare Dancing on the *Ropes*, with excellent new Country Dances, never seen before, with running up a board with Rapiers. To be performed by *Nicholas Spencer* and *Christopher W[h]itehead*, with a merry conceited Fellow called *Mr. John Capon*.

The three actors here advertised appeared regularly at the Red Bull. *Mercurius Fumigosus*, in a passage later to be quoted, describes Christopher Whitehead as one of the finest of English comedians. Nicholas Spencer survived the Restoration, and then found himself prevented by Davenant "from exercising his quality by threats and Arrests, and by paying of five and Twenty shillings in money," whereupon he became a party to Sir Henry Herbert's suit against Davenant.⁹⁴ If John Capon was, as undoubtedly *Fumigosus* declares, a real actor and not an assumed name, then he was a very bold fellow openly to announce his performances. One of the most remarkable playlets of the period is that called *The Disease of the House: Or, the State Mountebanck: Administring Physick To a Sick Parliament. With the Merry Conceits of John Capon, his Antidotes Playsters and Salves to cure Rebellion. Printed for the Health, of the Common-wealth, 1649*. In this play (dated by George Thomason August 21) John Capon is one of the two characters, and is represented as speaking both the prologue and the

⁹⁴ Halliwell-Phillipps, *A Collection of Ancient Documents Respecting the Office of Master of the Revels*, p. 88.

epilogue.⁹⁵ After so vicious an attack on Parliament as he gave here, it is difficult to understand how he could have acted publicly.

The government, however, was gradually adopting a more lenient policy toward rope-dancing and drolls,—winking at them, but reserving the right to swoop without warning upon the performances and to imprison the actors and fine the spectators. “Droll-Humours,” “Humours,” or “Rump Drolls” are the names applied by Civil War writers to the brief original farces in prose or verse and the farcical scenes cut from well-known Elizabethan plays, now generally known by the single term of “drolls.” Several collections of these works were published, the last by Francis Kirkman in 1672-3 under the title of *The Wits, or Sport upon Sport*, which is described as containing drolls as they were acted “in Publique and Private, in London at Bartholomew. In the Countrey at other Faires. In Halls and Taverns. On several Mountebancks Stages, at *Charing-Cross, Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, and other places. By Several Stroleing Players, Fools, and Fiddlers, And the Mountebancks Zanies. With loud Laughter, and great Applause.” *The Wits* has a preface by Kirkman which is the *locus classicus* for our knowledge of drolls:

When the publique Theatres were shut up . . . then all that we could divert ourselves with were these humours and pieces of Plays, which passing under the Name of a merry conceited Fellow, called *Bottom the Weaver, Simpleton the Smith, John Swabber*, or some such title, were only allowed us, and that but by stealth too, and under pretence of Rope-dancing, or the like; and these being all that was permitted us, great was the confluence of the Auditors; and these small things were as profitable, and as great get-pennies to the Actors as any of our late famed Plays. I have seen the Red Bull Play-House, which was a large one, so full, that as many went back for want of room as had entred; and as meanly as you may think of these Drolls, they were then Acted by the best Comedians then and now in being; and I may say, by some that then exceeded all now living, by Name, the incomparable *Robert Coo*, who was not only the principal Actor, but also the Contriver and Author of most of these Farces.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Cf. also this passage in *Mercurius Anti-Britannicus; Or, Part of the King's Cabinet Vindicated from the Aspersions of an Impotent Libeller*, (August 11), 1645: “Iust like Mountebanks and Iuglers, where the Master Iugler first Cosens the People, and cast[s] a mist before their eyes; then his *Zany* or *Iohn Capon*, does the same Tricks over againe in a ridiculous way. You may call the former Observations the Interlude, or Play; this Fellowe's descant the Iigge, which shuts up the scene with mirth.”

⁹⁶ As the original edition is not now accessible I quote from J. W. Ellsworth's *Westminster Drolleries*, p. xix.

Kirkman undoubtedly meant that Cox was "the contriver or author": he had no intention of claiming for Cox the authorship, say, of the Shakespearean drolls. As early as 1646 Cox had "contrived" a droll called *The Merry Conceits of Bottom the Weaver*,⁹⁷ taken from Shakespeare's *Midsummer's Night's Dream*. And in 1656 two editions of five or six drolls of which he was nominally the author appeared under the title of *Actaeon And Diana, With A Pastorall Story of the Nymph Oenone; Followed By the several conceited humors Of Bumpkin, the Huntsman. Hobbinall, the Shepheard. Singing Simpkin. And John Swabber, the Sea-man Printed at London for the use of the Author, Robert Cox*. Dedicating his book "To all the Worthy-minded Gentry," Cox modestly remarked:

If you ever vouchsafed your Presence when it was presented on the Stage, I am confident, your (no way erring) judgements will now allow it as it then was intended, which was, rather to provoke a laughter, then occasion a contemplation.

But even here Cox had no claims whatever to originality. English plays—comedies and tragedies alike—had down to the year 1642 customarily ended with jigs—brief comedies sung and danced to ballad-tunes—and when the stage was suppressed, Cox merely substituted prose or verse jigs for the plays themselves. At least two of his drolls, *Singing Simpkin* and *The Black Man*, are nothing but revivals of popular old jigs, now lost, of which translations, earlier in date than his own work, survive in German, Dutch, and Scandinavian versions.⁹⁸

Cox's drolls were included also in Henry Marsh's collection of twenty-seven drolls published in 1662 under the title of *The Wits, OR, Sport upon Sport. In Select Pieces of Drollery, Digested into Scenes by way of Dialogue. Together with Variety of Humors of several Nations, fitted for the pleasure and content of all Persons, either in Court, City, Countrey, or Camp. The like never before Published*. It is interesting to find here that *Simpleton*, *Swobber*, and *Bumpkin* are followed by the statement, "Argument needless,

⁹⁷ Reprinted by Halliwell-Phillipps in 1860. Cf. also his *Shakespearian Drolls*, 1859.

⁹⁸ J. Bolte, *Die Singspiele der Englischen Komoedianten*, 1893, pp. 50 ff., 84 ff.

It being a Thorow Farce, and very well known." Two of the drolls are from Shakespeare, one from Jonson, and the remainder chiefly from Beaumont and Fletcher.

In Kirkman's *Wits* there is a frontispiece where Cox is represented in the rôle of Simpleton. This, with *Swobber*, was his greatest success. Kirkman states that Cox's superb acting won the approval of the Universities no less than that of London and the country. But it is improbable that he absented himself for long periods from London: he was apparently acting there in 1646, he was arrested at the Red Bull in 1653,⁹⁹ and he was printing his *Actaeon and Diana* at London in 1656. At that time he passes from the record.

It is worth adding that the acting of drolls did not cease, as is generally believed, with the Restoration. In the provincial towns throughout the seventeenth century drolls enjoyed undiminished popularity. Thus at Norwich the Mayor and Aldermen granted licenses for the presentation of "pieces of plays and drolls at the Red Lion, St. Stephens" on October 21, 1676, and of "plays, drolls, farces, interludes at the Red Lion" on March 9, 1687.¹ To the Commonwealth actors and audiences drolls were a real delight, but poets and playwrights despised them. Sir Aston Cockayne wrote in 1653 that, when a more liberal government decides to allow stage-plays, theatres will "scorne the rustick Prose Of a *Jack-pudding*."² Thanks, however, to the rustic prose of the drolls and to the more or less lenient attitude shown by the government, Cox and his fellows managed to eke out a living at the Red Bull.

Of course the government made some exceptions in the case of private entertainments. Certainly with its knowledge and consent James Shirley's masque of *Cupid and Death* was presented on March 26, 1653, before the Portuguese Ambassador. In the printed copy (bought by George Thomason on March 28) the printer informs his readers that "This Masque was born without ambition of more, than to make good a privat entertainment, though it found, without any address or design of the Author, an honourable

⁹⁹ See page 311, below.

¹ Walter Rye, *Depositions taken before the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich*, 1905, pp. 143, 180. Very many other documents relating to the drama are printed in this work (pp. 128 f., 151, 160, 169, 171, 175).

² In verses prefixed to Richard Brome's *Five New Plays*.

acceptation from his Excellency, the Embassadour of *Portugal*, to whom it was presented by Mr. *Luke Channen* The Scaens wanted no elegance, or curiosity for the delight of the Spectator. The Musical compositions had in them a great soul of Harmony. For the Gentlemen that perform'd the Dances, thus much the Author did affirm, upon sight of their practise, that they shew'd themselves Masters of their quality." The mere fact that this masque was produced, to say nothing of its lavish scenery and costumes, is very significant: *Cupid and Death* foreshadowed the so-called private *Entertainment* of Sir William Davenant that was to follow three years later.

Richard Flecknoe, in his *Miscellania* (March 8, 1653), gives striking testimony of the desolation of the old Blackfriars play-house. "Passing on to Black-fryers," he said, "and seeing never a *Play-bil* on the Gate, no *Coaches* on the place, nor *Doorkeeper* at the *Play-house* door, with his *Boxe* like a *Church-warden*, desiring you to remember the poor *Players*, I cannot but say for *Epilogue* to all the *Playes* were ever Acted there [that the Puritans]

Have made with their Raylings the *Players* as poore
As were the *Fryers* and *Poets* before."

But in April of this year, so *Mercurius Democritus* (April 20-27) declares, puppet-plays and rope-dancing had become so common, so stale, that tired by the very monotony of these entertainments audiences were growing scarce, to the consequent impoverishment of the actors. To Londoners who could remember the great plays of the pre-war period, these performances must have seemed pitiful indeed. The conclusion *Democritus* drew was reasonable and pointed:

It were much to be desired (since some harmlesse, moderate recreation takes off mens mindes from hatching Treason, felonies, whordoms, murders and the like) that such fools-bables [as puppet-plays] were flung by, and that the poor Comedians, whose sufferings have been very great, were permitted to represent some Modest and harmless *Pastoralls*, so that no offence might be in them either against the present Government, Religion or Modesty.

But as this appeal could have no favorable result, *Democritus* resumed its patronage of drolls and rope-dances; and in June, 1653, light-heartedly printed the following remarkable advertisement of a Red Bull attraction:

At the *Red-Bull* in *St. Johns street* on Thursday next, being the Ninth of June, 1633 [*i. e.*, 1653]. There is a Prettie Conceited fellow that hath challenged the *Dromedary* lately come out of *Barbary*, to dance with him *Cap a Pee*, on the Low Rope . . . As also running up a board with *Rapiers*, and a new countrey Dance called the *Horn-Dance*, never before presented; performed by the ablest Persons of that *Civill quality* in *England*. There will also appear a merry conceited Fellow which hath formerly given content.

*And you may come and return with safety.**

The merry conceited fellow here advertised was none other than the "incomparable Robert Cox"; but in spite of the confident statement about the safety of attending the performance, both Cox and his audience met with an unpleasant surprise—exactly as Francis Kirkman tells in his preface to the *Wits*. Employed by the rope- and sword-dancers to present the well-known jig, or droll, of *John Swobber*, Cox was betrayed to the soldiers by two jealous rivals: the theatre was raided, the spectators fined five shillings each, and Cox imprisoned. In reporting this unhappy sequel to its advertisement, *Democritus* (June 22-29) gives some interesting facts about Cox—the only facts of this nature yet discovered:

The Rope dancers having impled one Mr. Cox an Actor, (a very honest though impoverished man, who is not only as well as others, put by the practice of his Calling, but charged with a poor Wife, and 5 helplasse Infants) to present a modest and ha[r]mless jigge, calle[d] *Swobber*, yet two of his own quallity, envying their poor brother should get a little bread for his Children, basely and unworthily betrayed him to the Souldie[r]s, and so abused many of the Gentry that formerly had been their Benefactors, who were forced to pay to the Souldiers 5 s. a piece for their comming out, as well as for their going in,

An Action, so superlatively base,
Would bash the Devil in an Anticks face.

Obviously jealousy among the actors themselves brought many woes that otherwise could have been avoided. Furthermore, the incident clearly reminds us that the drolls were on as shaky a legal basis as were plays. Perhaps the soldiers connived at acting only when to do so was to their own financial advantage.

The most drastic of all the Commonwealth's laws against printing was issued on January 7, 1653; rigid application of the law followed, so that within two months eighteen printers had been

* *Mercurius Democritus*, June 1-8, 1653, p. 463.

imprisoned in Newgate or the Gatehouse.⁴ But towards the end of the year censorship was considerably relaxed, and even in signed works balladists, pamphleteers, and playwrights wrote of the government with the utmost frankness. For example, the ardent Royalist Alexander Brome, in verses prefixed to Richard Brome's *Five New Plays* (1653), remarked:

But *Times* are chang'd; as tis worth our note,
Bishops and *Players* both suffer'd in one *Vote*.
 And reason good, for they had cause to feare 'em,
 One did *suppresse* their *Schismes*, and tother jeere 'em.

Plays will, nevertheless, he boldly declared, live to see the fall of those who have crushed the stage. Sir Aston Cokayne contributed verses with a like note:

Then we shall still have *Playes!* and though we may
 Not them in their full Glories yet display;
 Yet we may please our selves by reading them,
 Till a more Noble Act this Act condemne.
 Happy will that day be . . .

Cautious, however, is the address of "The Stationer to the Reader" in Robert Mead's *Combat of Love and Friendship* (1653)⁵:

The Scene is vanish'd and with it, all encouragement to this musical part of humane Learning. I murmur not against any that sit at the helm, though Policy of State have formerly allow'd the exercise of these Recreations in time of Troubles, as a means to divert Tumultuary and Turbulent spirits, whose otherwise uncorrected heat would be employ'd to the distraction of the most considerable Affaires, and Persons of the Common Wealth.

The witty author of *Bibliotheca Parliamenti* (1653) included among his burlesque "Acts and Orders" "An act for the speedy suppressing all Plays, the Fools being all turned Commanders or Parliament men."⁶

⁴ J. B. Williams, *Hist. Eng. Journalism*, p. 151.

⁵ Printed in 1654 according to the title-page. Thomason bought his copy on November 2, 1653.

⁶ Further allusions to the stage and the players during 1653 will be found in *Mercurius Democritus*, September 14-21, p. 582; *Mercurius Politicus*, October 13-20, p. 1795, and John Webster's *The Picture of Mercurius Politicus* [October 23], 1653, p. 7.

The Roundheads (a name "which was first invented by some prophane Stage-players, for from that shop of the Divil, so farre as I remember, that Nick-name first came" ⁷) made periodic attempts to tighten their grip on public amusements. On March 31, 1654, as James Wright phrased it, "Cock-fighting was prohibited by one of *Oliver's Acts*." ⁸ A letter was sent by the Privy Council on July 6 to Captain Charles Howard, directing the suppression of horse-racing in the north of England for six months; and a somewhat mystifying manuscript note added to the letter reads, "Old Noll's rules to put down interludes [?] of the 99, then to govern the 100th." ⁹ On August 28 an ordinance directing the ejectment of ministers and schoolmasters who encouraged or countenanced "Stage-plays, or such Licentious practices" was issued; and was reissued a year later (October 26, 1655).¹⁰ From the number of such ordinances issued during the interregnum, it appears that there were many weak brethren in the ranks of teachers and preachers. The government, too, probably kept itself informed of the plays given among the exiled royal family. Various plays were performed in Holland. J. Nicholas, writing to Lord Clarendon's secretary, Edgeman, on April 23, 1654, told of the plan of the gentlemen and maids of honor to act at Whitsuntide before the Princess Royal Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King*, and remarked that "all loyal persons are astonished when they hear it named." ¹¹

In London rope-dancing went on regularly. In June, 1654, *Mercurius Fumigosus* ¹² advertised that "There is an *Albion* Blackamore lately come to Town that is . . . well skill'd in *Dancing on the Ropes*." This was "the Turk," a rope-dancer whose fame spread all over London. There are several advertisements of

⁷ Thomas Hall, *The Loathsomeness of Long Hair*, 1654, p. 19 (Bodleian, Wood 653/6).

⁸ *Historia Histrionica*, p. 32.

⁹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1654, pp. xxi, 246; Ward, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, III, 281.

¹⁰ Firth and Rait, *Laws and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, II, 977; *Mercurius Politicus*, October 25-November 1, 1655, p. 5721.

¹¹ *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, I, 339; II, 353.

¹² June 28-July 5.

his performances in *Mercurius Fumigosus*. Describing one performance, *Fumigosus*¹³ declares that a

woman being in to see him clamber up the Ropes, said, Sure, if he be not the Devil, the Devil begot him; no truly Neighbor, quoth another Woman, I know him, as well as a Beggar knows his dish; hee is a *Black-fryers Water-man*, and his Mother is living on the *Bank-side*, and as I have often heard her say, *Her son learnt this Art, when he was a Sea-boy, only was a little since taught some Pretty Tricks by a Jack-pudding neer Long-Lane.*

Whatever be the truth of this explanation (which clarifies the term "an Albion blackamore"), the Turk's popularity continued for several years. On May 15, 1657, John Evelyn stept in [to the Red Bull?]

to see a famous rope-dancer, called *the Turk*. I saw even to astonishment the agility with which he performed; he walked barefooted, taking hold by his toes only of a rope almost perpendicular, and without so much as touching it with his hands; he danced blindfold on the high rope, and with a boy of twelve years old tied to one of his feet about twenty feet beneath him, dangling as he danced, yet he moved as nimbly as if it had been but a feather. Lastly, he stood on his head, on the top of a very high mast, danced on a small rope that was very slack, and finally flew down the perpendicular, on his breast, his head foremost, his legs and arms extended, with divers other activities.

No mean substitute, this, for plays! So clever an acrobat would draw huge crowds to-day. His popularity when the Commonwealth had banned the legitimate stage is not to be wondered at. John Wright, a Red Bull actor,¹⁴ wrote "A new Song on the Turkish Artist which is lately come into England, which danceth on a Rope

¹³ August 30-September 6, 1654. Other advertisements of the Turk occur in *Fumigosus* for August 23-30, 1654, and January 17-24, 1655.

¹⁴ He is mentioned as an actor at the Red Bull on September 14, 1655, in a ballad quoted below. In various editions of *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (e. g., 1719, IV, 8) and in Phillips's *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence* (ca. 1656) occurs a ballad "On the Death of Jo. Wright. To the Tune of Chevy Chase," containing the lines,

"He made the Ballad of the *Turk*,
And sung it in the street."

Yet, says *Pills*, he "dyed Poor." Wright is a new name among actors, I believe, and the significance of the ballad in *Pills* has not before been recognized.

eight and thirty foot from the ground," which was included in John Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter* (1655).¹⁵ Two stanzas may be quoted for comparison with Evelyn's description.

A Wight there is come out of the East,
A mortal of great fame;
He looks like a man, for he is not a beast,
Yet he has never a Christian name:
Some say he's a Turk, some call him a Jew,
For ten that belie him, scarce one tels true,
Let him be what he will, 'tis all one to you;
But yet he shall be a Turk.

On a sloping cord he'l go you shall see,
Even from the very ground,
Full sixty foot high, where I would not be,
Though you'd give me a thousand pound.
First he stands & makes faces & looks down below,
Would I had 12 d. for each could not do so,
By my troth I'de never make ballad mo,
But yet [he shall be a Turk].

According to a song in *Choyce Drollery* (1656)¹⁶ women, too, took part in rope-dancing. Perhaps here, rather than in Davenant's productions, is the real beginning of women's professional appearances on the English stage.

But superior even to the Turk were his rivals at the Red Bull,—
"the lately desceased *Montford*, *Peadle*, and now *Christ. Whitehead*, who for agility of body, and neatness in Dancing,

*Doth in best iudgements, as farr exceed the Turks,
As Shakspeare Haywood in his Commick Works."*¹⁷

¹⁵ Pp. 317-320; 2nd ed., 1662, pp. 322-325.

¹⁶ Ed. J. W. Ebsworth, p. 31. It begins:

A Story strange I will you tell,
But not so strange as true,
Of a woman that danc'd upon the ropes,
And so did her husband too.
With a dildo, dildo, dildo,
With a dildo, dildo, dee,
Some say 'twas a man, but it was a woman
As plain report may see.

¹⁷ *Mercurius Fumigosus*, August 23-30, 1654, p. 118. For Peadle see Murray's *English Dramatic Companies*, II, 248, 253, 342, 346.

As this trio, along with Nicholas Spencer, John Capon, Robert Cox, and the Turk, performed at the Red Bull, it seems probable that the performances there were often of an order that merited praise—even such high praise as that bestowed by Francis Kirkman years later.

The Red Bull, then, prospered; but the other London playhouses had apparently by this time given up the unequal struggle. In *Mercurius Fumigosus* for November 1-8, 1654, appeared the following sympathetic account of the struggles and the poverty of London stage-players:

The Bawdes in the Suburbs are Petitioning to put down the poor *Actors*, who have a long time lingered under the heavy yoke of Poverty, and fed themselves and families with hunger, sighs, and tears; yet not one of these poor men during this long Winter of many years debarment from the exercise of that Quallity wherein they were bred, but have continued alwayes Civill and honest in life and conversation, not one of them branded with any foul *Crime* (which such exigences as *Poverty* commonly produces) and truly Playes have better recreated the mindes of ingenious men, then any other exercise; and with modest Presumption, may doubtless gain the affection of the Noblest Spirits in any City or Country.

Unquestionably the Red Bull kept open all the time except when an occasional raid turned its mirth to mourning. Bountiful allusions in John Crouch's papers establish that fact beyond all cavil,—such allusions, for example, as this passage in *Mercurius Fumigosus* for November 15-22, 1654:

Two cross-legg'd Creatures called *Sutorians*, having a great minde to learn the right Art of Preaching, would the other day needs go to the *Red-Bull* to learn *speech* and *Action* of the *Players* before they come to *Exercise* or hold forth.

Emboldened, or made careless, by their success the Red Bull players publicly boasted that they could violate the anti-stage laws with impunity. As a result, on December 30, 1654, soldiers raided the Red Bull while a performance of *Wit Without Money* was being given, and robbed the actors of their costumes, though none of the reports of the raid indicates either that the players were arrested or the spectators fined.¹⁸

¹⁸ *Perfect Account of the Daily Intelligence*, December 27-January 3, p. 1663: "This day the Players at the Red-Bull (being gotten into all their borrowed gallantry, and ready to act) were by some of the Souldiery

Amateur theatricals did not die under the ban of Parliament. Perhaps, indeed, this ban, directed at public performances in and near London, did much to increase them. John Rowe, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, wrote in 1654 a tract called *Tragi-Comodia. Being A Brief Relation of the Strange, And Wonderfull hand of God discovered at Witny, in the Comedy Acted there February the third* [1654],¹⁹ which was directed at a group of amateurs, all "countrymen," who had presumed to act an old play of *Mucedorus and Amadine*. "The Actors of the *Play* were Countreymen; most of them, for any thing I can heare, all of *Stanton-Harcourt* Parish. The punctuall time of their first Learning the *Play*, cannot be certainly set downe: but this we have been told, they had been learning it ever since *Michaelmas*, and had been Acting privatly every week . . . they began to Act it in a more publike manner about *Christmas*, and Acted it three or foure times in their own Parish, they Acted it likewise in severall neighbowring Parishes, as *Moore, Stanlake, South-Leigh, Cumner*." At Witny they sought permission to use the Town Hall, but when this was denied took the White Hart Inn. When the play began, at seven p. m., some three or four hundred persons were in the audience, while "others in the Yard pressed sorely to get in." As for the play itself—"they were ordinarily about three houres in acting it"—only two hours of the performance had passed when part of the floor of the inn collapsed, hurling players and audience alike into the wreckage, killing several, injuring many, and, in the opinion of John Rowe, showing the fearful judgment of God on frivolity and sin. He ends his account

dispoyled of all their bravery; but the Souldiery carryed themselves very civilly towards the Audience." *The Weekly Intelligencer*, December 26-January 2, p. 158, dates the raid January 1, 1654/5, and gives this account: "The players at the *Red-bull* were on the last Saturday despoiled of their acting cl[o]aths by some of the soldiery, they having not so ful a liberty as they pretended." *Mercurius Fumigosus*, December 27-January 3, p. 247, says: "The next day the *Players* presuming to Act *Witt without money*, were rowted by the Souldiers,

*Who Acting better then the Players, yet,
Left them sans money, Cloaths or Witt."*

C. H. Firth (*Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, VI, 122) has noticed the *Perfect Account's* story of this raid.

¹⁹Mentioned also by Ward, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, III, 281.

with an appalling eighty-page sermon in which he inveighs against plays, drawing liberally on the materials brought together in Prynne's *Histrio-mastix*.

In February, 1655, at London, a less tragic but still an unpleasant ending came to a proposed amateur play. There was

a Company of young Citts that met the last week to act a *Comedy*, called *Knavery in all Trades*, but putting down their Half Crowns apiece the first meeting for a stock, and to engage each Person to the performance of his Part, the chief of them, who was to act the *Knave in grain*, having his Part studded before-hand, having taken about 30. s. of his fellow Actors money, made an *Exit* instead of an *Entrance*, and so is gone to *Holland*,

*Leaving those Commick witless blades,
To gain it up, by Knav'ry in their Trades,
To Act in shops, and not on Stages,
Which is more gainfull, in these later Ages.*²⁰

The comedy here referred to may perhaps be that printed in 1640 under the title of *The Knave in Graine, New Vampt*, by J. D., Gentleman.²¹ To the same period as this unlucky comedy belongs *The Gossips Braule, Or, The Women weare the Breeches, A Mock Comedy* (January 30, 1655). The principal rôles are Nick Pot, a Tapster; Jone Ruggles, a Dungel-raker; Doll Crabb, a Fish-woman; Megg Lant-Ale, a Tub-woman; Bess Bung-hole, an Hostice: and certainly they must have given grave offense to the Puritans and delight to the godless.

The Hope and Blackfriars playhouses now came to inglorious ends, and their passing made Cromwell's triumph seem greater and more important than actually it was. Blackfriars was pulled down on August 6, 1655, to make room for tenements. The Hope is said to have been converted, also, into tenements "by Thomas Walker, a Peticoate Maker in Cannon Streete, on Tuesday the 25 day of March 1656. Seuen of Mr. Godfries Beares, by the command of Thomas Pride, then hie Sheriefe of Surry, were then shot to death, On Saterdag the 9 day of February 1655, by a Company of Souldiers."²²

²⁰ *Mercurius Fumigosus*, February 7-14, 1655, p. 294.

²¹ British Museum, 643. c. 22.

²² *The Academy*, xxii, 315; Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, pp. 233, 337. On Mr. Godfrey see Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, 1879, iii, 102, and *Merry Drollery*, ed. J. W. Ebsworth, p. 210.

On September 14, 1655, the Red Bull was again raided, and many "cracked crowns" resulted, presumably among both actors and audience. The musicians escaped without losing their instruments; but the actors were arrested and their rich clothing confiscated. From each of the spectators a fine of five shillings was demanded, but as very many were ladies who had not so much money, "some gage or other" was allowed to be substituted for the actual cash. These gages took the form of new hoods, scarfs, and aprons, and, so the *Weekly Intelligencer* reports, were afterwards "civilly restored to the owners."²³ A ballad about this raid was composed immediately and published in *Sportive Wit* (1655).²⁴

²³ *The Weekly Intelligencer*, September 11-18, 1655: "This Day proved Tragical to the *Players* at the *Red Bull*, their Acting being against an Act of Parliament, the Soldiers secured the persons of some of them who were upon the Stage, and in the Tyryn-house, they seized also upon their cloaths in which they acted, a great part whereof was very rich, it never fared worse with the spectators then at this present, for those who had monies payed their five shillings apeece, those who had none to satisfie their forfeits, did leave their Cloaks behind them, the Tragedy of the Actors, and the Spectators, was the Comedy of the soldiers. There was abundance of the Female Sex, who not able to pay 5 s. did leave some gage or other behind them, insomuch that although the next day after the Fair, was expected to be a new *Faire* of Hoods, of Aprons, and of Scarfs, all which their poverty being made known, and after some check for their Trespasse, were civilly restored to the Owners." *Mercurius Fumigosus*, September 12-19, p. 546, says: "The *Players* at the *Red-bull*, and all the *Jack-Puddings* of *Southwark Faire*, last Friday listed themselves for Souldiers, a little after, a great *Rowt* was given, some Prisoners taken, which presently paying their *Ransoms*, were released.

*So were the Puddings, and the Fiddlers,
The Actors and the hy-down Diddlers,
Put by their Action, and their Parts,
And led away with heavy hearts."*

Finally, J. Banks wrote to Williamson (*Calendar State Papers, Domestic*, 1655, p. 336): "At the playhouse this week, many were put to the rout by the soldiers, and had broken crowns; the corporal would have been entrapped, had he not been vigilant." C. H. Firth (*Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, vi, 122) has called attention to the foregoing passage from *The Weekly Intelligencer*. Cf. also Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 306.

²⁴ Pp. 88-89 (Bodleian). I observe that J. W. Ebsworth has also reprinted this ballad among the notes (pp. 285-286) to his *Choyce Drollery* (1876).

It runs:

A SONG

1.

The fourteenth of September
I very well remember,
 When people had eaten and fed full,
Many men, they say,
Would needs go to a Play,
 But they saw a great rout at the red Bull.

2.

The Soldiers they came,
(The blinde and the lame)
 To visit and undo the Players;
And women without Gowns,
They said they would have Crowns;
 But they were no good Sooth-sayers.

3.

Then *Jo: Wright* they met,
Yet nothing could get,
 And *Tom Jay* i' th' same condition:
The fire men they
Wou'd ha' made 'em a prey,
 But they scorn'd to make a petition.

4.

The Minstrills they
Had the hap that day,
 (Well fare a very good token)
To keep (from the chase)
The fiddle and the case,
 For the instruments scap'd unbroken.

5.

The poor and the rich,
The w . . . and the b . . . ,
 Were every one at a losse,
But the Players were all
Turn'd (as weakest) to the wall,
 And 'tis thought had the greatest losse.

This raid seems to have attracted much more than usual interest, but it did not result in the closing of the Red Bull. Some four months later—on January 8, 1656—the Privy Council instructed Major-General Desborow to suppress all horse-races, cock-fight-

ing, bear-baiting, and stage-plays by seizing the persons gathered together on such occasions.²⁵ But no lasting results came from the order.

The final triumph of the stage began with Sir William Davenant's operatic productions in 1656. Davenant, who had been imprisoned by the government from 1650 to August 4, 1654, feared to risk a further imprisonment, and proceeded with great caution. Apparently before giving his initial performance, he submitted to Secretary of State Thurloe a document dealing with the desirability of theatrical entertainments, in which he argued from the point of view of both politics and economics. The letter stressed the fact that many people were leaving London for the country, quite thirteen houses owned by the nobility being rented or offered for rent; pointed out that Englishmen had always required "continuall divertisements, being otherwise naturally inclin'd to that melancholy that breeds sedition"; insisted that dramatic entertainments must be allowed not only to prevent the people from too much thinking on "the absence of the adverse party [of Charles II], but allsoe to entertain a new generation of youth uningag'd in the late differences" and to withdraw them "from licentiousnesse, gaming, and discontent." That Davenant's plan of entertaining had been carefully premeditated appears from his concluding remark with its reference to *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*: "If morall representations may be allow'd (being without obscenenesse, profanenesse, and scandall) the first arguments may consist of the Spaniards' barbarous conquests in the West Indies and of their severall cruelties there exercis'd upon the subjects of this nation: of which some use may be made." Representations of this type, he concludes, can escape any charge of levity, since they were used by the Athenians and the Romans to influence the people and in their interests.²⁶

By his diplomacy and his careful avoidance of the term *stage-play* Davenant succeeded in circumventing the anti-stage laws and in winning the support of certain government officials, among them the Lord Keeper, Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke. In the first edition

²⁵ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1655-6, p. 103.

²⁶ This document, said to be in Davenant's own handwriting, was discovered and printed by Professor C. H. Firth in the *English Historical Review*, 1903, xviii, 319-321.

of *Sportive Wit*,²⁷ published in 1656, was included a lampoon on Davenant called "How *Daphne* payes his Debts." It asserts that because of the pressure exerted on him by his creditors Davenant determined to become Master of the Revels, a position which he himself openly declared had been promised him by the government; that he hired a house in which to present "*masques à la mode de France*," the first of these being given (in or before 1656) at Apothecaries Hall; that he had made further arrangements for performances at the Red Bull, the Cockpit, and at Lincoln's Inn Fields, as six friends of his had advanced £6000 to support his projects. Even after due allowance has been made for exaggeration, no more important document dealing with Davenant's activities has been discovered. The mention of Apothecaries Hall and Lincoln's Inn Fields is particularly interesting, since neither of these places has been supposed to have been used for plays before 1661. Of the twenty-nine stanzas in the lampoon the following are the most important:

Quoth he, *I now have made my book,*
A fam'd Heroic Poem,
For which I'm promis'd so many pounds,
That I know not where to bestow 'em.

But when this book it did come forth
 As some have given a hinting,
 The gains of his pitifull *Poetry*
 Scarce paid for paper & printing,

At the months end they come again,
 Molesting him like Devils.
Well now Ile pay ye all, quoth he,
I must be master o' th' Revels.

The State hath promis'd this to me,
As the Clerk of the Parliament saith,
And I hope that you will do as I do,
Believe the PVBLIQUE FAITH.

—
Already I have hir'd a house,
Wherein to sing and dance;
And now the Ladies shall have Masques
Made a la mode de France.

²⁷ Sig. Hh4v-Hh6v (Bodleian).

²⁸ Gondibert, of course.

This house was Potheccaries Hall,
I tell to him that asks;
Because of a meeting that was there,
Which he said was one of his Masques.

If there you finde him not come to *S. Jones's*,
Where his next house is hiring,
And if you come quickly, you shall see
The Players themselves attiring.

For surely he doth play, but must
Be watched like *Bacons* head,
Time is, Time was, but still you come
When the *Time past* is said.

I can tell y' of more of 's houses, one
In *fields* of *Lincolns Inne*,
Another in *Drury Lane*: and thus
Daphne will never lin——."

Thus little you think that *Daphne* hath
A Play with you begun,
Which is the cause you interrupt him,
Ere the fifth Act be done.

Now the fifth Act is never done,
Till th' *Exit* all fulfill;
Let him but make his *Exit* first,
And then do what you will.

Yet *Daphne*, if they still molest thee,
Faith, in the minde I'm in,
I'd do as Players use to do,
Pay my great summes in tin.

.

Now in these houses he hath men,
And cloathes to make them trim;
For six good friends of his laid out
Six thousand pounds for him.

Then *Daphne* he will get at least
A hundred pounds a day:
Why I think the Devil's in you all,
Can't you one minute stay?

"*Daphne's* " productions had begun at least as early as May 21, 1656, when at Rutland House in Aldersgate Street he gave an

"*Sic* in the original.

operatic venture called *The First Days Entertainment at Rutland-House, By Declamations and Musick: After the manner of the Ancients*.⁸⁰ This curious hodge-podge of music and of dialogues was a semi-private entertainment to which admission was charged; but only 150 people of the 450 for which preparation was made attended.⁸¹ The first dialogue represents Diogenes and Aristophanes as setting forth their views on public amusements, particularly scenery and music; the second presents a Parisian and a Londoner who expatiate on the respective merits of Paris and London. In the entertainment there was nothing—unless, perhaps, the appearance of a woman as a singer—to which the government could have objected; certainly it had no resemblance to stage-plays, a fact pointed out significantly in the epilogue:

Perhaps, some were so cozen'd as to come
To see us weave in the dramatic loom.

These were your plays, but get them if you can.

To get them if he could was, of course, Davenant's own purpose, but he proposed to attain that end legally, not by illegal performances. In August⁸² he produced, also at Rutland House, *The Siege of Rhodes*, "a Representation by the Art of Prospective in Scenes, and the Story sung in Recitative Musick." Fearing that "the nicety of the times"—the hostility of the government to the stage—would prevent Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke from attending and from seeing that the performance was violating no laws, and anxious to retain his favor, Davenant sent him "hot from the Press, what we represent; making your Lordship," he added tactfully, "my supreme Judge, though I despair to have the Honour of inviting you to be a Spectator."⁸³ With *The Siege of Rhodes* opera was introduced to England. In composing it Davenant drew to

⁸⁰ Thomason bought his copy (E. 1648/2) on November 22, 1656, though the title-page is dated 1657.

⁸¹ Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, V, 231. There is a good account of the *Entertainment* in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1655/6*, p. 396 (Vol. 128, No. 108).

⁸² The preface of the printed copy (which Thomason bought on September 29, 1656) is dated August 17. Whitelocke notes that he got a copy from Davenant on September 3.

⁸³ Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 650 (September 3).

some extent on his knowledge of Continental operas.²⁴ He trusted through this new medium of dramatic expression to lead gradually to the abolition of laws against the stage. A comparison of the dates of his preface and of his letter to Whitelocke indicates that a number of performances of the *Siege* were given.

The production of these two musical entertainments did not lead at once to any relaxation of the laws, but it can hardly be doubted that by Davenant's success surreptitious performances of plays were stimulated. William Chamberlayne, however, in the preface to his play of *Love's Victory* (1658)—which "was begot Whilst Clamorous war's wild fury was so hot"—speaks of "the mourning Stage being silent," condemned by the "sin of parasites." Plays in pamphlet form still abounded. Among them is Thomas Brewer's *A Knot of Fooles* (May 2, 1657), compared by its author to a puppet-play, but really a droll (originally performed in 1613) that could easily have been acted. It is of exactly the same type as the drolls of Robert Cox. As a straw showing the direction of the wind, William Cartwright in 1658 reprinted Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors* under the title of *An Actor's Vindication*.

Davenant's next production was given publicly at the Cockpit playhouse. This was *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, "Expressed by Instrumentall and Vocall Musick, and by the Art of Perspective in Scenes." The subject and title were happy, for the government was at this time engaged in a war with Spain; and the opera had a successful run. In the printed copy, which George Thomason dated July 25, 1658, readers are informed that the entertainment is "represented daily at the Cockpit in Drury-Lane, At Three after noone punctually" and that "Notwithstanding the great expence necessary to Scenes, and other ornaments in this Entertainment, there is a good provision made of places for a shilling. And it shall begin certainly at 3 after noon." Just how long the play ran cannot be determined. The war with Spain and the Lord Protector's illness and death (September 3, 1658) perhaps prevented any active steps either for or against Davenant for opening a proscribed public theatre. A ballad contemporary with and describing a performance of *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in*

²⁴ Cf. John Evelyn's account in his *Diary* of an opera in Venice, June, 1645. He first mentions opera, explaining the term, on November 19, 1644.

Peru is preserved in manuscript,⁸⁵ and as it has escaped the notice of students of the drama is here reprinted.

Peru:

Or, a new Ballad.
To an old Tune
Called

The Building of Paules;
Or,
Oh, Shee's the bravest F——
That ever wore a Garter, &c.

1.

Now God preserue the Realme
And Him that sits at Helme!
I will tell you of a new Story,
Of Sir William & his Apes,
With full many merry Japes,
Much after the rate of "John Dory."

2.

This sight is to be seene
Neere the streete that's called Queene,
And the people haue nam'd it the Opera;
But the devill take my wife
If all the dayes of my lyfe
I did ever see such a Foppery.

3.

Where first there's one begins,
With a Trip & a Cringe,
And a face set in Starch, to Accost 'um;
I, and with a Speech to boote,
That hath neither head nor foote,
Might haue serv'd for a Charterhouse Rostrum.

4.

Oh, he lookt so like a Jew
'Twould haue made a man to spew,
When he tould 'um 'here was this,' 'here was that';

⁸⁵ MS. Ashmole 36, fols. 163-164. There is a very late (and hardly an easily accessible) printed copy (*D.*) in Dryden's *Miscellany Poems*, Third Part, 1716, pp. 323-325. Dryden's version—which has no tune and which is entitled "A Ballad against the Opera, call'd, The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, Writ by Sir W. D'Avenant"—is almost identical with that of the MS., save for a number of verbal differences, a few of which are indicated in the foot-notes below.

Just like him that shews the^m Tombes—
For when the totall comes,
 'Tis two houres of the Lord knowes what.

5.

Nor must I here forgett—
Oh, the Musick! how 'twas sett,
 Bate^m two Ayres & a halfe; And, by Jove,^m
All the rest was such a Jigg,
Like the Squeaking of a Pigg,
 Or Catts when they're making their love.^m

6.

The next thing was the Sceane,
And that—oh, 'twas laine,
 Now the Lord he knows where, in Peru;
With a Story, for the Nonce,
Of Raw head & bloody Bones,
 But the divell a word on 't was true.

7.

There might you haue seene an Ape
With his fellow for to Gape,
 Now dauncing, & then turning ore;
What cannot Poets doe?—
They can find out in Peru
 Things noe man euer saw before.

8.

When, presently, the Spaniard
Strutts in with his longe whaniard—^m
 Now, Lord of thy mercy, how grim!
Who 'ld hae thoght ~~that~~ christian men
Would haue eaten vp Children,
 Had we not seene 'um do ut Limbe by Limbe?

9.

Oh, more Cruelty yet!
Like a Pigg vpon a Spitt,
 Here lyes one; there's another boyld to Jelly:
Just so the People stare
At an Oxe in the Fayre
 Rosted whole, with a puddings in 's belly.

10.

Troth, I durst haue layne my head
That the King he had beene dead,

^m Shews the (D.): MS. *apparently* sheverethe.

^m Bate: Dise (D.)

^m Jove, love (D.): MS. Jawe, lawe (?).

^m Whaniard: Whinyard (D.).

When I saw how they basted & carv'd him;
 Had he not come vp againe,
 On the Stage, for to complayne
 How scurvily the Rogues they had serv'd him.

11.

A litle farther in
 Hangs a third, by the Chin,
 And a fourth cut out into quarters.
 Oh, that Fox had then bene living!—
 They had been sure of Heaven,
 Or at least been some of his Martyrs.

12.

But (which was strange againe)
 The Indians they had slayne
 Came dauncinge in all in a Troope;
 But, oh, giue me the last,
 Ffor as often as he past,
 Hee still trembled like a dogg in a Hoope.

13.

And now, my Seignieur Shrugg,^a
 In good faith, you may goe Jogg;
 Ffor Sir William ^a will haue somewhat to bragg on;
 Oh, the English boyes are come,
 With the Fife & the Drum,
 And the Knight must still conquer the Draggon.

14.

And so my Story's done,
 And Ile end, as I begun,
 With a word, & I care now who knows it:
 God keep ^a vs greate & small,
 And blesse vs some & all
 From euery such pitifull Poet.

On October 15, 1658, Dr. Thomas Smith, of Cockermouth, wrote to his friend Sir Daniel Fleming: "Sir William Davenant, the poet laureate, has obtained permission for stage plays and the Fortune Playhouse is being trimmed up."⁴³ But this is mere gossip,—interesting enough as such,—for opera was permitted, not stage-plays, the Cockpit was used by Davenant, not the Fortune. Appar-

^a Shrugg: Strugge (D.).

^a William: Will (D.).

^a MS. keepe.

⁴³ *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, 12, Appendix, Pt. VII, 23; W. J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse*, Second Series, p. 132.

ently *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* was being shown in December,—to the great displeasure of the Presbyterians. One of the latter wrote, on December 14, that “it is thought the opera will speedily go down; the godly party are so much discontented with it.”⁴⁴ Nine days later (December 23) Richard Cromwell and the Council of State appointed a committee to examine the author and actors of “the opera shewed at the Cockpit,” to inform themselves of the nature of the performance, to examine by what authority it had been publicly given, and to make a general report on the subject of stage-plays.⁴⁵ Evidently the use of the term *opera* had raised some doubts as to the application of the anti-stage laws. What report the Committee made does not appear: that no fault was found with Davenant seems probable, especially since Sir Henry Herbert, after the Restoration, spitefully wrote to Charles II that the poet “obtained leave of Oliver and Richard Cromwell to vent his operas, at a time when your petitioner [Herbert] owned not their authority” and (a statement that reminds one of the ballad of “Daphne”) “exercised the office of Master of the Revells to Oliver the Tyrant.”⁴⁶ Certainly no hostile action was taken against Davenant, for in 1659 his *Siege of Rhodes* was again played at the Cockpit, as was also his new entertainment of *The History of Sir Francis Drake*.

The history of the year 1659 is not so simple as all previous writers would have us believe. Possibly the government made a distinction between plays and operas, and prohibited only the former. That this was the case seems to be suggested by a comment in *Endlesse Queries: Or An End to Queries* (June 13, 1659):

⁴⁴ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁴⁵ *Publick Intelligencer*, December 20-27, 1658, p. 112:

“A course is ordered for taking into consideration the *Opera* shewed at the *Cockpit* in *Drury-lane*, and the persons to whom it stands referr’d are to send for the Poet and Actors, and to inform themselves of the nature of the work, and to examine by what authority the same is exposed to publick view; and they are also to take the best information they can concerning the acting of Stage-playes, and upon the whole to make report, &c.”

This account is repeated verbatim in *Mercurius Politicus*, December 23-30, p. 118. Attention was first called to it in Malone’s *Variorum Shakespeare*, III, 93, and it is quoted in R. W. Lowe’s *Thomas Betterton*, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁶ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

Whether the Stage-players being turned out of doores, cannot, to get their livings, in imitation of the *Opera*, set up dumb Musick, and instead of black patches smut Ladies in their faces that shall not observe their part they are to play, according to the wisdome of the Ancients.

But there is a cryptic remark about Davenant and the stage in Edmund Gayton's *Art of Longevity* (1659):⁴⁷

For Playes are down, unless the puppet-play,
Sir William's lost, both *Oyle* and *Opera*;
The noble Cock-fight done, the harmless bears
Are more then ring'd by th' nose or by the ears.

Beyond question plays were still regarded as illegal and were punished by fines, under the provisions of the old ordinance of January 1, 1648. From the Cockpit playhouse itself,—where Davenant's operas were at least part of the time being produced,—fines amounting to £3. 8s. 6d. were exacted "by order of the justices" during 1659 and turned over to the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields.⁴⁸ Davenant himself was implicated in the premature rising led by Sir George Booth for the restoration of Charles II, and was for a time imprisoned, being released on August 16, 1659. This incident can hardly have aided the cause of the actors. But Richard Cromwell's government was adopting a more lenient policy towards amusements and towards the press. Complete liberty of the press was granted, a fact bewailed by the *Weekly Intelligencer* of June 14-21, 1659.

That the Cockpit and the Red Bull gave plays regularly during 1659-60 is indisputable. Nevertheless, these plays were performed in open defiance of the laws and against the wishes of many people. John Evelyn, for example, notes that on May 6, 1659, he went "to see a new opera, after the Italian way, in recitative music and scenes," and adds that "it was prodigious that in a time of such public consternation such a vanity should have been kept up or permitted. I being engag'd with company could not decently

⁴⁷ Page 36.

⁴⁸ John Parton, *Some Account of the Hospital and Parish of St. Giles in the Fields*, p. 236:

"1659. Rec'd of Isack Smith, which he received at the Cockpitt playehouse, of sev'all offenders, by order of the justices £3. 8. 6."

This would indicate that at least thirteen persons had been convicted of attending plays at the Cockpit.

resist going to see it, tho my heart smote me for it." The opera here referred to was either Davenant's old *Siege of Rhodes* or the new *History of Sir Francis Drake*.

According to the story told by John Downes, in his *Roscius Anglicanus* (1708)⁴⁹ and since repeated by all historians, in the year 1659—that is, after February 4, 1659/60, when General Monk entered London,⁵⁰ and before March 25, 1660, when the old-style year began—John Rhodes, a bookseller who had formerly been wardrobe-keeper to the King's Company at Blackfriars, secured a license from General Monk to form a company of actors to perform plays at the Cockpit; while a second company was formed at the Red Bull, and a third at Salisbury Court.⁵¹ There is, however, evidence to show that the performances were illegal. The accuracy of Downes's statement is doubtful. He tells, for example, that in Rhodes's company were "Mr. Lilliston" and "Mr. Turner." But Lilleston, Turner, and Rhodes himself were arrested, and presumably tried, for violating the laws against stage-plays after the date of General Monk's entry.

Thomas Lilleston, who is described as a weaver of St. Andrews Holborn,—a mainstay of Rhodes's company,—was examined before the Sessions of Middlesex on February 4, 1660 (the day of Monk's entrance), having been "charged by Gervis Jones to act a publique stage-play this present 4th of February in the Cock-Pitt in Drury Lane in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Feildes contrary to the law in that case made." Recognizances of £40 from him and of £20 each from two bondsmen were required for his appearance at the next Sessions.⁵² That neither Monk nor his council wholly approved of the theatre appears from an Order in Council forbidding stage-players to act issued by them on April 23.⁵³ Little or no attention, however, was paid to the order. But on May 12 Antony Turner and Edward Shatterel, two well-known actors, were placed under bond of £100 each to appear at the next Quarter Ses-

⁴⁹ Ed. Joseph Knight, 1886, p. 17.

⁵⁰ Whitelocke's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 694.

⁵¹ Cf. R. W. Lowe, *Thomas Betterton*, 1891, p. 60; Ward, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, III, 293; Schelling in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VIII, 135; Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, pp. 307, 365; etc.

⁵² *Middlesex County Records*, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson, III, 282; Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 366.

⁵³ Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 699.

sions of Middlesex to answer "for the unlawfull mainteining of Stage-playes and enterludes att the Redd Bull in St. John's Street." Turner admitted that his company was paying one pound a day for the rental of the Red Bull, above what they had agreed to pay for charity and for repairing the highways.⁵⁴ On July 28, John Rhodes, manager of the Cockpit, was fined £4. 6s., an amount representing a charge of twopence "for every day the[y] play'd, till the 28th of July, 1660,"—proof, apparently, that the Cockpit players had acted 516 days, or continually during 1659 and 1660.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the Salisbury Court playhouse had reopened, perhaps as early as June, 1660;⁵⁶ and from Pepys's *Diary* it appears that the Red Bull was giving public performances on August 3, 1660, the Cockpit on August 18.

More information about the years 1659-1660 must be forthcoming before safe generalizations can be made. But it is evident that, whatever their legal status, two theatres, perhaps three, were regularly open during these years.

It would be a mistake to think that the restoration of the stage to a legal status brought unmitigated joy to all England. Instead, rigid Puritans found their objections to plays increased by the many years in which theatres had been proscribed. In 1661, a certain L. G., in his *Essayes And Characters*, thus described actors:

A Player.

Is an Artificial fool, that gets his living by making himself ridiculous; he hath lickt up the Vomit of some drunken Poet & (like a jugler) casts it up again before a thousand Spectators. He is the ignorant mans Wonder, the rich mans Jester, and the Devils Factor, that by a strange delusion sends men laughing to hell.

On May 7, 1660, just when England was ostensibly rejoicing over the imminent return of Charles II, a Newcastle Puritan wrote sorrowfully to a friend:

Sir, the Countrey, as well as the Town, abound with vanities; now the reins of Liberty and Licentiousness are let loose; *May-Poles*, and *Playes*, and *Juglers*, and all things else now pass current.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Middlesex County Records*, III, 279-280; Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

⁵⁵ John Parton, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁵⁶ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

⁵⁷ *The Lords Loud Call To England: Being a True Relation of some Late, Various, and Wonderful Judgments, or Handy-work of God* [August], 1660, p. 24 (Bodleian, Wood 643/3).

In July a remarkable event occurred at Oxford during the performance of a play, and was chronicled by one H. Jessey in a pamphlet called *The Lords Loud Call To England*.⁵⁸

There was Play acted by Schollars, wherein one acted the *Old Puritan*, he that acted that part, came in with a narrow band, short hair, and a broad hat; a *Boisterous fellow* comes after him, and trips up his heels, calling him *Puritan Rogue*; at which words, the *Old Puritan* shook off the dirt of his feet against him. Two of these Actors are also cut off; and he that acted the *Old Puritan* broke a vein, and vomited so much blood in the place, that they thought he would have died in the room, but he now lieth desperately sick. This is all very true.

Also a Woman that joyned with them in their Play is also dead.

Also from another in Oxford, it was thus written, July, 30. We had a Play acted in the University, against the *Puritans*, the cheif Actors therein were, Mr. Ball of Wadham, who died yesternight; and one Glendal of Brazen-Nose, who also is not like to live. . .

[Later intelligence has it] That Mr. Glendal also, one of the chief Actors in the Play is since dead.

But with Charles II's issuance of patents to Killigrew and Davenant on August 21, 1660, creating two companies of players, the history of the dramatic interregnum comes to an end, and the Puritans were utterly routed. Only with Jeremy Collier's *Short View* in 1698 did their inning return.

New York University.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

THE VIRTUE OF TEMPERANCE IN THE FAERIE QUEENE

BY FREDERICK MORGAN PADELDFORD

In an admirable paper, Professor William Fenn DeMoss has pointed out the fidelity with which, in the development of the Faerie Queene, Spenser followed the Aristotelian treatment of the virtues. Not only did Spenser derive his moral virtues from Aristotle, as he himself asserted, but like Aristotle he developed or defined each virtue by presenting it as the mean between two contrasted extremes, and by contrasting it with its opposite.¹ It is the aim of the present study to supplement Professor DeMoss's paper by making, in the light of Aristotle's discussion of the virtues, a detailed analysis of the Legend of Sir Guyon, or of Temperance.

By "temperance" Spenser does not mean temperance in the narrower sense, the virtue which the Greeks called *σωφροσύνη*, and which Aristotle treats second in his list of virtues. Rather Spenser has in mind "continence," *ἐγκράτεια*, which is akin to temperance, bearing the same relation to it that incontinence bears to licentiousness. Aristotle devotes a considerable part of the seventh book of the "Ethics" to bringing out these relations. Whereas the temperate man is equable by nature so that he does not experience strong desires, the continent man is of a more energetic nature and therefore does experience such desires, yet governs them according to the dictates of reason. Again, whereas the licentious man, lacking in both moral and physical fibre, acts on the moral hypothesis that he ought always to pursue the pleasure of the moment, the incontinent man recognizes that he ought not to pursue pleasure immoderately, but pursues it nevertheless. The continent man thus possesses a more ardent and positive nature than the temperate man; he is subject to strong impulses and aspirations, and holds himself in control only by making reason the guide of his life.

¹Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues," *Modern Philology*, xvi, nos. 1 and 5.

Again, the temperate man is hardly susceptible of angry passions, but not so the continent man, for he may well experience anger, though he will feel just the right degree and for the right cause and at the right time. Finally, the temperate man is not sufficiently ardent to give himself to the pursuit of victory, honor, wealth, and the like, but the continent man pursues these aims with enthusiasm, and is only saved from the excesses of ambition and of greed by reason.

Aristotle's analysis of the sphere and kinds of continence is briefly as follows: Pleasures and pains are the sphere in which continence and incontinence are displayed. These pleasures may be physical, residing in the processes of nutrition and of sexual love, or they may be of the spirit, the desire for victory, honor, or wealth. The excessive pursuit of the pleasures of the first class results in gluttony and lust; of the pleasures of the second class, in miserly greed and overweening ambition. The pains are those which attend excessive anger.

The Legend of Sir Guyon is manifestly an allegory of continence. Reason, in the person of the black Palmer, is not only the constant attendant, but the actual guide, of the knight:

Still he him guided over dale and hill,
And with his steedy staffe did point his way;
His race with reason, and with words his will,
From fowle intemperaunce he ofte did stay,
And suffred not in wrath his hasty steps to stray.

Again, the name of the false enchantress whom it is the special mission of Sir Guyon to overcome is Acrasia, *ακρασία* being the very word that Aristotle uses for incontinence. Moreover, the episodes completely cover every phase of continence and incontinence as discussed by Aristotle, continence and incontinence in eating and drinking, and in physical intercourse; in the ambitious pursuits of victory and honor, and the mercenary pursuit of wealth; and in anger. Indeed, Spenser has his eye upon Aristotle's exact classification of the kinds according to their spheres, for in the opening stanza of Canto VI he remarks upon the relative difficulty of learning continence in matters of pleasure and pain:

A harder lesson to learn Continence
In joyous pleasure then in grievous paine;

For sweetnesse doth allure the weaker sence
So strongly, that uneathes it can refraine
From that which feeble nature covets faine:
But grieve and wrath, that be her enemies
And foes of life, she better can abstaine.

The book resembles a musical composition in the interweaving and reiteration of these dominant themes, and closes with a brilliant *stretto*, in which they are picturesquely reviewed in rapid sequence.

In the very opening episode of the book, Spenser is careful to make clear that holiness, the virtue celebrated in the first book, and temperance are accordant. To religious fanatics and zealots of the sixteenth century, as to their fellows in all times, temperance seemed to be incompatible with the pursuit of holiness, temperance or continence with its cool insistence that excess and extravagance be avoided in every human activity. To the Puritan demand that one surrender himself exclusively to the claims of religion, Spenser opposes the Hellenic theory that all things should be done in moderation, and that life should result in an harmonious development of many powers. When, despite the efforts of Archimago to create enmity between them, Sir Guyon and the Red Cross Knight recognize one another and exchange greetings, the Reformation and the Renaissance—in so far as the Renaissance was a reacceptance of Greek philosophy—are wedded in the poet's thought. Thus early in its history Spenser identified himself with a tradition which has characterized the best English academic thought for over three centuries.

In the episode of Mordant and Amavia, which concludes the first canto, incontinent sexual desire and incontinent grief, or incontinence in pleasure and incontinence in pain, are contrasted. Sir Mordant was a knight in the freshest flower of youth, gentle and affectionate, who, during the period when his young wife was carrying a child, became the victim of Acrasia, "in chaines of lust and lewde desyres ybownd." Though he was so far sunk in excess that he no longer knew her or his own ill, the young wife, then become a mother, rescued him, and purged him from the drugs of foul intemperance, only however to see him succumb to the charm of Acrasia when he drank from a virgin-shaped rock with a cup which Acrasia gave him in parting, and which bore the legend:

Sad verse, give death to him that death does give,
And losse of love to her that loves to live,
So soone as Bacchus with the nymph does lincke.

Amavia, "Lover of Life" that she was, in a passion of profitless grief took her own life.

Here are illustrated incontinence springing from opposite extremes, pleasure and pain; the one, as Guyon observes, most characteristic of strong natures, the other, of weak. When the Palmer remarks, however, that incontinence in passion is the less censurable, he is reasoning in strict accordance with Aristotle, for Aristotle remarks: "It must be observed too that the incontinence of angry passion is not so disgraceful as the incontinence of the desires. For it is as if the passion heard reason more or less, but misheard it, like hasty servants, who run out before they have heard all that is said to them, and so mistake their orders Desire, on the other hand, rushes to the enjoyment of a thing, if only reason or sensation says that it is pleasant. Thus passion follows reason in a sense, but desire does not."²

When Sir Guyon tries in vain to cleanse with the waters of the virgin fountain the hands of the little child which it had been dabbling in its mother's blood, the poet is reflecting upon the persistence of inherited traits. A child which was the offspring of parents thus deficient in self-control could only be redeemed from its inheritance by most careful discipline in self mastery. Quite properly, therefore, Sir Guyon leaves it with Medina to be educated.

Medina and her two sisters, Elissa and Perissa, give bodily form to that doctrine of the mean and the extremes which underlies Aristotle's whole treatment of the virtues. It is obvious that they represent the mean and the extremes in courtesy: Medina, soberly gracious; Elissa, frowning and forbidding; and Perissa, lavishly and insinuatingly affable. Spenser appears to have in mind Aristotle's discussion of that virtue, unnamed among the Greeks, which was the mean between obsequiousness and surliness. His discussion of this virtue admirably fits the cool, defining and discriminating, almost impersonal deportment of Medina, handling her discordant household and contentious guests with untroubled assurance:

² *Ethics*, iv, 12, 8.

"It is clear then that the moral states thus described are censurable, and that the intermediate or mean state, in virtue of which a person will assert and similarly will object to the right things in the right spirit is laudable. No special name is assigned to this mean state, but it most nearly resembles friendliness; for the person in whom it exists answers to our idea of a virtuous friend, except that friendliness implies affection as well. It differs from friendliness in being destitute of emotion or affection for the people with whom one associates, as it is not friendship or hatred that makes such a person assent to things in a right spirit but his own character. For he will act alike to strangers and acquaintances, and to people with whom he is or is not intimate."⁸

It is a less obvious intention that Elissa and Perissa shall represent the extremes of physical continence. Perissa, to be sure, very clearly personifies excess, for she is unblushingly carnal; as Spenser quaintly phrases it, "In wine and meats she flowd above the banck." But at first thought Elissa does not seem to fit the contrasting role and to personify defect. One would expect her to be an arid stream bed, as deficient in appetite as Perissa is excessive. This arises, however, from a misunderstanding of the virtue of continence as Spenser, following Aristotle, conceives it. It has already been remarked that continence, as opposed to temperance, implies a virile, highly-sexed nature that is held in restraint by reason. The extremes of continence therefore imply this same basic nature, the extremely incontinent person being one who indulges himself in complete violation of the recognized dictates of reason, and the extremely continent person one who is correspondingly abstemious, likewise at the expense of reason. The extremely continent person is therefore to be distinguished from the phlegmatic person, who is abstemious through physical indifference. Now the extreme of continence, secured at the expense of reason, results, as Spenser says, in just such a prurient prude, just such a warped and distempered killjoy, as Elissa:

Elissa (so the eldest hight) did deeme
Such entertainment base, ne ought would eat,
Ne ought would speake, but evermore did seeme

⁸*Ethics*, iv, 12, 8.

As discontent for want of merth or meat:
 No solace could her Paramour intreat
 Her once to show, ne court, nor dalliaunce;
 But with bent lowring browes, as she would threat,
 She scould, and frownd with froward countenaunce,
 Unworthy of faire Ladies comely governaunce.

The male counterparts of Elissa and Perissa are Sansloy and Hudibras; Sansloy frankly lecherous, and Hudibras a surly malcontent, like his Shakespearian counterpart, Malvolio, a Puritan sketch.

Spenser likewise employs these two knights to portray incontinence in courage and the pursuit of valor. They were, to be sure, knights of "perelesse puissaunce" and famous for their warlike prowess, but they fought at the dictates of vanity or of passion rather than of reason:

Is this the joy of armes? be these the parts
 Of glorious knighthood, after blood to thrust,
 And not regard dew right and just desarts?
 Vaine is the vaunt, and victory unjust,
 That more to mighty hands then rightfull cause doth trust.

Foolhardiness, or over-confidence in facing fearful things, the Greek *θρασύς*, which Aristotle calls the excess of the virtue of courage, is characteristic of both of these knights. In characterizing Hudibras Spenser employs this very term;

More huge in strength then wise in workes he was,
 And reason with foole-hardize over ran;

and in characterizing Sansloy he defines foolhardiness:

And all to lawlesse lust encouraged
 Through strong opinion of his matchlesse might.

In the third canto Spenser introduces two incomparable grotesques, Braggadochio and Trompart, to illustrate conceit and meanmindedness, those qualities which Aristotle contrasts with highmindedness, the noblest of the virtues. The highminded person is one who regards himself as worthy of high things, and who is worthy of them. The conceited person is one who regards himself, or pretends to regard himself, as worthy of high things, but who is actually unworthy of them. The meanminded person is one

who is too timid to strive for those things of which he would otherwise be worthy, whose self-depreciation causes his character to deteriorate, so that he pursues ignoble ends, and becomes sycophantic and cunning.

Aristotle devotes little space to the direct exposition of the conceited man and the meanminded man; what little he does say, however, is very apposite to these buffoons. Thus conceited folk are characterized as follows: "Conceited people, on the other hand, are foolish and ignorant of themselves, and make themselves conspicuous by being so; for they try to obtain positions of honor under an impression of their own deserts, and then if they obtain them, prove failures. They get themselves up in fine dresses, and pose for effect, and so on, and wish their good fortune to be known to all the world, and talk about themselves, as if that were the road to honor."⁴ This hits off to a nicety the bragging, posing Braggadochio.

But while Aristotle has only a paragraph or two on the conceited man, his precise and full definition of the highminded man is largely worked out through negatives, and these negatives define by contrast the conceited man. Spenser certainly developed the character of Braggadochio with an open copy of the "*Ethics*" before him. Thus Aristotle says, "It would be wholly inconsistent with the character of the highminded man to run away in hot haste, or to commit a crime." When Archimago disappears by magic, Braggadochio flees, "ne ever backe retourned eye," and he falls to the ground and creeps into the bushes when Belpheobe, clad as Diana, appears. Moreover, he steals Sir Guyon's horse, and would ravish Belpheobe if he could. Again, Aristotle says of the highminded man that "such honor as is paid by ordinary people and on trivial grounds, he will utterly despise." Braggadochio, on the other hand, is all puffed up with foolish pride when the cringing Trompart throws himself at his feet, "as an offal," in base humility. The highminded man "will not be excessively elated by good, or excessively depressed by ill fortune." But Braggadochio's heart "gan all swell in jollity" when he discovered Guyon's horse, and he is like a crestfallen fowl when fortune turns against him.

"The highminded man is not fond of encountering small dangers, nor is he fond of encountering dangers at all, as there are few

⁴ *Ethics*, iv, 9.

things which he values enough to endanger himself for them. But he is ready to encounter great dangers, and in the hour of danger is reckless of his life, because he feels that life is not worth living without honor." Yet Braggadochio, throughout his history in the poem, is constantly itching for cheap and safe conquest. The highminded man "will not talk much about himself." Braggadochio, on the contrary, is an unconscionable egoist, dwells with Falstaffian gusto on his prowess in bringing seven knights to end with one sword, and boasts that he has fought everywhere throughout the world in the effort to raise his dreaded name above the moon. Finally, the highminded man is slow of movement and deep of voice. Braggadochio is most undignified in his movements, and the "big thundering voice" with which he bellows is a pure affectation.

Although Spenser does not introduce into the canto the highminded man, to illustrate the reality of which these buffoons are the sham, he supplies the deficiency through Belpheobe's discourse concerning honor, which is a little homily on Aristotle's text, "A highminded man is especially concerned with honors and dishonors."⁵

With Canto iv Spenser returns to the consideration of incontinence arising from anger, and develops elaborate episodes to illustrate it. The allegory of the Phaon episode is sufficiently obvious. Enraged at his friend Philemon and the female accomplice who had cunningly deceived him as to the chastity of his lady, Phaon had completely given way to wrath, until he was at the mercy of his own consuming anger. The Palmer teaches him that he must be the constant master of his passions, so that he will be prepared for special provocations.

As opposed to Phaon, Pyrochles, "the wrath that burns without cause," child of self-indulgence and malice, is one who actually seeks the occasion for angry passion. Equally abnormal in passion is his brother Cymochles, violent yet fickle like the sea, who is now swept by anger, and now lulled to placid forgetfulness by sensual indolence. Having no rational centre of control, he lives according to strong emotional impulses, and illustrates successively incontinence in anger and self-indulgent sloth.

⁵ For the whole discussion, see *Ethics*, iv, 7 ff.

Especially suggestive is the episode in which Pyrochles, burning with the flames of fury, rushes into the Sea of Idleness to assuage his suffering, for since he is the child of self-indulgence, he does not seek relief from anger through reason but through a new form of indulgence, sensual indolence. For as Aristotle observes: "The excesses of pain make people pursue excessive pleasure, and bodily pleasure generally, as a remedy."⁶

Phaedria, or Immoderate Mirth, the wanton flirt who is mistress of the Sea of Idleness, cannot even tempt Sir Guyon, for the man of energetic qualities feels the allurements of indolence only as an escape from excesses. It is not such as he, but the tumultuous Cymochles whom Phaedria speciously asks to consider the lilies of the field.

In Canto VII Guyon is subjected to the temptations of riches or greed and of ambition, in the glade over which Mammon presides, this glade, as in Dante, standing for those cares of the world which shut out the light of Heaven. Riches make little appeal to Guyon, since he is too noble of soul to care for them, preferring to be master of those who possess riches and to spend his time in brave achievements. His real temptations come when he beholds Philotime, Love of Honor, who holds the golden chain of ambition, "whose upper end to highest heaven was knitt," and especially when he gazes upon the fair apples in the garden of Proserpine, symbolic of that presumptuous, overweening ambition, that spiritual pride of attainment, which is defiant of Heaven itself, and which led to the fate of Tantalus and others like him. These alone constitute temptation for the strong man, and so greatly is Guyon tempted that he faints for the ordeal. At this critical juncture reason does not suffice to protect him from the desecration that Pyrochles and Cymochles, Archimago and Atin, would visit upon his body, and Heavenly Grace in the person of Prince Arthur alone can save him. Disciple of Aristotle though he is, Spenser is too much the Christian not to recognize that there is a point beyond which reason cannot save one, and where divine interposition alone avails. Nor is it enough to explain Prince Arthur as Magnificence in the sense in which Aristotle makes Magnificence one of the virtues, for Prince Arthur is obviously the Christian apotheosis of this pagan virtue.

⁶ *Ethics*, VII, 15.

In Canto ix Spenser returns to the bodily passions and works out that over-ingenious allegory of the body which to the modern reader seems more of a tribute to his resource than to his good taste and sense of humor. Yet even here he is faithful to Aristotle, for Aristotle had conceded that one *might* show an excessive fondness for pleasant sights and sounds and odors.¹

This allegory carries over into the eleventh canto and is concluded with Prince Arthur's rout of the twelve bands—typifying the seven deadly sins and the vices that attack the five senses—that lay siege to the castle of Alma, the Soul. The contest ends with the overthrow of Maleger, the captain of the troops, the incarnation of evil passions, and his special attendants, Impotence and Impatience.

The final canto, in which Sir Guyon and the Palmer take ship, experience a succession of dangerous maritime adventures—reminiscent of the experiences of Odysseus, with adumbrations of other classical myths—and finally reach the Isle of Bliss and take Acrasia captive, is commonly regarded as gratuitously lavish in episode, episodes which are animated and picturesque, but which bear only loosely upon the theme and follow no well defined order of arrangement. The canto is recognized as a purple patch, though a fine one withall.

As a matter of fact, Spenser has ordered his episodes with great care, aiming to give a spectacular review of all the various kinds of incontinence. Thus it is not accident but design that determines the particular places at which the Wandering Islands and the Mermaids, for example, shall appear in the narrative. If the canto presents Gothic richness, it yet deliberately follows the principles of design. The first five encounters, the Gulfe of Greedinesse, the Rocke of Vile Reproach, the Wandering Islands, the Quicksand of Unthriftyhed and the Whirlpool of Decay, all variously illustrate incontinence in the pursuit of wealth or of ambition; the next four, the Deformed Monsters who lash the sea into a fury, the Pitiful Maiden, the Mermaids, and the Harmefull Fowles met in the Fog, all illustrate incontinence in passion; and the encounters in the Isle of Bliss itself, illustrate incontinence in the appetites, that is, gluttony and lust.

¹ *Ethics*, III, 13.

The Gulfe of Greedinesse, "That deepe engorgeth all this worldes pray," stands for that mercenary greed which Aristotle defines as one characteristic form of incontinence. He who gives himself over to the inordinate pursuit of riches becomes engulfed in avarice, as it were, swallowed alive. Opposite to this is that Rocke of Vile Reproach which threatens men when they seek to escape by going to the other extreme. This is that reproach which is visited upon the prodigal, the ensample "Of lustfull luxurie and thriftlesse wast." Since the continent man is forceful and energetic, he must needs be doing, but he must steer a straight course between miserliness and prodigality.

The obverse of this gulf and rock is the Quicksand of Unthriftyhed and the Whirlepoole of Decay, in which essentially the same lesson is spelled backward. The quicksand symbolizes the destruction which overtakes one who is prodigal of material interests, and the whirlpool symbolizes the destruction which overtakes one who is the slave of such interests. The difficult narrow way lies between the two. Thus the gulf and the whirlpool, both of which are whirlpools, apply to the greedy; the rock and the quicksand to the spendthrift. Spenser thus works out an $a : b :: b : a$ equation. The gulf : the rock :: the quicksand : the whirlpool. In avoiding avarice, beware of thriftlessness; in avoiding thriftlessness, beware of avarice.

Between these two pairs of balancing symbols, Spenser introduces the Wandering Islands, presided over by Phaedria. As in the earlier cantos, these islands, aimlessly drifting about, stand for self-indulgent sloth, for lack of purpose. Though the continent man is an energetic man, he should occupy middle ground between sloth and over-devotion to wealth, just as, in the matter of wealth, he should occupy middle ground between getting and spending. A harmonious arrangement is thus secured in placing the episode of the Wandering Islands between the other two-phased episodes.

The ugly monsters that, with noise outrageous, churn up the sea, so that the billows seem enraged or as if driven before the whirling chariot of wrathful Neptune, stand of course for angry passion. When the Palmer raises his staff and at once disperses them, the power of reason over passion is shown.

Very properly the next two episodes illustrate effeminacy, over-softness, which is just the opposite vice. In the first episode, a

maiden, sitting by the shore, makes a piteous appeal for help. Sir Guyon is prompted to succor her, but Reason tells him that her conduct is forged. In the second, the Mermaids, here identified with the Sirens, hold out the soft allurements of a port of rest:

O! turne thy rudder hitherward awhile.
Here may thy storme-bett vessell safely ryde.
This is the Port of rest from troublous toyle,
The worlde's sweet In from paine and wearisome turmoyle.

In the closing episode of the second group Spenser returns to violent passion, thus balancing this group as he had the first, placing the deficiency of a quality between examples of its extremes. Here the voyagers find themselves suddenly enveloped in a dense fog, which shuts out the cheerful face of Heaven, so

That all things one, and one as nothing was,
And this great Universe seemd one confused mas.

Before they have chance to recover from their bewilderment,

Suddeinly an innumerable flight
Of harmefull fowles about them fluttering cride,
And with their wicked wings them ofte did smight,
And sore annoyed, groping in that griesly night.

Here are all birds that men abhor, the owl, the night-raven, the bat, and the harpy.

The dense fog that shuts out the light of Heaven and so blinds the travelers that they cannot distinguish one object from another, and the noxious birds that scream about them and smite them with their wings, may stand either for anger or for envy. Each is blinding in its influence, as Dante indicates when in Purgatory he surrounds the wrathful with a dense smoke, and seals, against the day of purification, the eyes of the envious, those undiscerning eyes which on earth could see no excellence in others. I incline to think, however, that Spenser intends to suggest envy, rather than anger, for the fluttering and chattering of the birds, as well as the beating of their evil wings, is peculiarly apposite to envy. Moreover, Spenser was so familiar with the constant allegorical representation of the seven deadly sins that he would be inclined to vary his allegory by depicting both types of malevolence, anger and envy.

The concluding group of episodes concerns the sins of the flesh. Straightway that Sir Guyon and the Palmer land upon the Isle of Bliss, they hear the hideous bellowing of many beasts, roaring "as if that *hungers poynt* or *Venus sting* had them enraged." Obviously these beasts stand for gluttony and lust, and the episode serves as a prelude to the Bowre of Bliss proper. Within the beautiful bower itself, there are two episodes to illustrate gluttony and two to illustrate lust. Thus, the bowl which Genius extends to Sir Guyon and the cup which the woman in the porch offers him are a twofold illustration of gluttony, and the fair maidens sporting in the fountain and Acrasia wooing the youth, Verdant, are a twofold illustration of lust.

The book closes with the Palmer recalling to their former estate the men whom Acrasia had transformed to beasts,—all save one, Gryll, who resents the change and is allowed to resume his swinish form. He is no longer incontinent, he is a brute; no longer the servant of *Ακρασία* but of *Θηριότης*. Spenser's stern theology allows this man, of his own free will, to renounce his humanity. He lapses into one of those states of brutality which Aristotle says lie beyond the pale of human vice, and therefore of human continence.

Such, then, is the moral allegory of the Legend of Temperance. Upon a foundation of severely classical philosophy this English Renaissance poet rears an ornate Gothic structure, charmingly rich and varied. One sees herein the free fusion of two very noble traditions.

The University of Washington.

SONNET STRUCTURE IN SIDNEY'S 'ASTROPHEL AND STELLA'

BY R. G. WHIGAM AND O. F. EMERSON

Too little attention has been paid to the varied and interesting forms used by Sidney in his sonnet cycle *Astrophel and Stella*. Besides, the statements about them have not always been accurate. Thus Schipper (*Engl. Metrik* II, 847) says there are four hexameter sonnets when there are six of this character (1, 6, 8, 76, 77, 102). He places fifty-two sonnets in the largest division, based on the rime scheme, when there are fifty-nine at least, and probably sixty. Other evidences of less careful statement may also be found, so that there seems ample reason for another examination of this important and influential sonnet cycle.¹

Sidney's favorite rime scheme in the sonnets is *abba abba cdcd ee*, which is found in fifty-nine, possibly sixty examples. They are 2, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 41, 44-47, 49, 51-57, 59, 60, 64, 67-9, 72, 76, 79, 82-86, 90-93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 104, 105, 107, 108, possibly 71. This enumeration assumes that final *y* (*ie*) with secondary stress may rime with words like *be*, *me*, *thee* on the one side, as in 69, 83, 84, 86, 90, 96, 107; or less commonly with words like *die*, *lie*, as in 32, 99. For the first compare the rimes *thee-miserie* (67), *be-melodie*, *me-thank-*

¹ In connection with the hexameter sonnets of Sidney may well be noted an extraordinary bit of subjective criticism, which we have not seen mentioned. We note it, because so often subjective criticism can not be readily disproved. When the subjective critic asserts of some poet, "This combination of consonants, or these vowels, indicate the sorrows of so-and-so, or the beauty of her eyes, or what not," one can only say poetry is too great an art to need factitious praise. In this astonishing example the proof is at hand. In his *History of English Prosody* II, 149, footnote, Saintesbury says:

'It is most noteworthy that the famous line—

"Fool!" said my Muse, "look in thy heart and write,"

discards the lumbering top-hammer of the other thirteen, as if the Muse had applied the uncomplimentary epithet to them also."

For the disproof of this bit of pure subjectivity, it is only necessary to examine the sonnet itself.

fully (84).² For the less common rime see *die-historie* (32), *eye-armory*, *lie-harmony* (99).

Such variation in rime technique, found in much Elizabethan poetry and even later, depends upon the development in late Middle and early Modern English of ME. -i(ie) in final syllables bearing secondary stress. Middle English stressed -i(ie) became diphthongic *ai* (*by*, *die*, *espy*), as ME. *ē* became *i* (*be*, *me*, *degree*). Middle English secondarily stressed -i(ie) seems to have had a double development, sometimes following its stressed fellow in retaining long quantity and becoming diphthongic, sometimes retaining its original quality (*i* of *machine*) but with shortening to *i* (*hit*).³ The latter only has persisted in modern standard English, but both were probably known even in the Elizabethan age, as shown by many rimes like those above cited. We have a modern parallel in double pronunciations of the final secondarily stressed syllable in words like *crystalline*, *Palestine*, and dialectally *genuine*.

In connection with this first large group of Sidney's sonnets, consideration of sonnet 71 as a possible sixtieth example should be given. As it stands, with interior octave rimes of *be-thee*, *sovereigntie-flie*, the rime scheme would seem to be *abba acca*, a form nowhere else found in *Astrophel and Stella*, and uncommon to say the least elsewhere. We might assume that Sidney was himself misled by the possibility of *sovereigntie* riming with both *be* on the one side and *flie* on the other, without realizing that it could not rime with both and give the usual *abba abba* structure to the octave. More likely, it seems to us, Sidney wrote *flee* in the fourth rime and the scribe or printer, misled by the subject *night-birds* before it, made it *flie*. We would therefore suggest emending the sonnet in this manner, and listing it with Sidney's favorite form. This would make the first division of the sonnets contain sixty, instead of fifty-nine examples.

² The text of the sonnets used is that of Pollard, based on the folio of 1598, with readings of the quartos in the notes.

³ Such rimes are common enough in Spenser. Compare *harmony-sky-hy-dry* (*F. Q.* I, i, 8); *bee-thee-perplewitie-free* (st. 19); *flies-applies-enemies-lyes* (st. 38); *ivory-lye-enemy-quickly* (st. 40). To cite earlier examples, such rimes as *fle-liberte* (Lydgate's *Churl and Bird* 86-8) persisted when *liberte* became *liberty*. So such a rime as Lydgate's *regallye-modefye* (*Mum. at Hert.* 145-6) persisted when the words had become MnE. *regally-modify*.

This emendation even with such a subject as *night-birds*, is supported by the occasional use of *flee* for *fly* (*flie*) in all periods. Some of the present tense and many of the past *fled* for *flew* might be cited from the Elizabethan age. Thus in *Love's Labour's Lost* III, 66, *flee* is used in rime with *thee* to describe the flight of a bullet. Spenser has two such examples in rime, as this of cobwebs (*F. Q.*, II, xii, 77):

Nor the fine nets, which oft we woven see
Of scorched deaw, do not in th' aire more lightly flee.

In *Shep. Cal.*, June, 24, it is used of birds, as by Sidney:

Nor elvish ghosts, nor gastly owles do flee.

There need be no hesitancy, therefore, in assuming that Sidney may have written *flee* in rime with words like *be*, *thee*, even though more exact language would require *flie* (*fly*).

The second most common scheme in *Astrophel and Stella* is that of *abab abab cdcd ee*, the octave having alternate *ab* rimes while the sestet is the same as in the first division. Here belong 18 sonnets, not 15 as Schipper says, that is, 1, 7, 20, 24-6, 33, 36, 39, 42, 50, 65, 66, 70, 74, 77, 101, 102. Here also the rimes of *e* (*be*) and secondarily stressed final *y* (*ie*) occur in sonnets 7 and 41, while in 26 the rime words *astrologie*, *eternitie*, *skie*, *hie* 'high' indicate the secondarily stressed *ie*-rimes as intended to have the diphthongic *ai* of *high*. Any other interpretation of the rimes gives to sonnet 26 an octave with the exceptional, and I believe wholly improbable, scheme *abab acac*. In other words, interpretation of the rimes in accordance with common Elizabethan practice places the sonnet in this second large class with little question. In sonnet 73 the rime *is-miss* is assumed to be perfect or intended for perfect, as the same or similar rimes in 43, 73, 80.

A third scheme, *abba abba ccd eed*, is found in 9 sonnets, that is in 48, 58, 63, 78, 80, 98, 100, 102, 106. This requires the older reading *late-wrate* 'wrote' at the beginning of the sestet in sonnet 58, as with the folio and quartos, not the modernized *wrote* as sometimes printed. Compare Spenser's *drave*, *strake*, *wrate*, all with older long *a* instead of *o* in the past tense. In the octave of 78, *be* rimes with final secondarily stressed *ie* words, as often in other places.

The remaining sonnets belong to very small divisions, two of

four each, probably two of two each, and nine of individual peculiarities. The first division of four sonnets has the rime scheme *abab abab ccd eed*, as in 3, 61, 73, 88; the second that of *abab baba cdcd ee*, as in 5, 10, 43, 75. This implies that the octave rimes of 5 (*serve-swerve-carve-starve*) are correct by the pronunciation of *er* as *ar* in the first two, a common pronunciation in Elizabethan English. Compare the spelling *swarve* in Spenser (*F. Q.* I, x, 14; II, viii, 30, 36, and xii, 76; III, i, 11). Otherwise sonnet 5 would have the quite exceptional type *abab bcbc dede ff*, and this seems improbable. In 43 also the rime *room-come* of the last couplet is assumed to be perfect, or sufficiently so for the purposes of rime.

The first of the divisions of two sonnets each, sonnets 81, 87, has the rime scheme *abab baba ccd eed*. The second probable group of two (4, 62), with the rime scheme *abab abab ccd ccd*, depends upon a slight emendation of a single rime in the sestet of the second sonnet. In this sestet occur the rimes *authority-flie-be-beggary*, in which *flee* would suit the sense even better than a similar emendation in sonnet 71. The sentence as it now stands reads,

Wild (=willed) me these tempests of vaine love to flie.

It is easy to believe that Sidney here wrote the better word *flee*, and that scribe or printer, misled by the rime with *authority*, altered it to *flie*. It would seem that the emendation might be proposed with some confidence.⁴

⁴ A similar example is found in Henry Constable's *Diana*, the tenth sonnet of the second decade. Constable, as is well known, was a friend of Sidney, and usually used Sidney's more common sonnet form *abba abba cdcd ee*. In the sonnet noted, the interior rime words of the octave are *flie-be-divinitie-me*, the first rime word in a line apostrophizing the sun:

When night approacheth, wherefore do you flie?

Here, as in Sidney's sixty-second sonnet, *flee* is the better word. Moreover, in all these cases a manuscript *flie* and *flee* might easily be confused. We may therefore reasonably infer that Constable also wrote *flee*.

For the possibility of a manuscript error in the Sidney sonnets especially, see the statement of the first publisher Newman, in the first edition of 1591:

"For my part, I have been very careful in the printing of it; and whereas being spread abroad in written copies it had gathered much corruption by ill writers, I have used their help and advice in correcting and restoring it to his first dignity that I know were of skill and experience in those matters."

The 9 sonnets which are left have individual rime schemes, but may be grouped according to their octaves as follows. Six have Sidney's favorite *abba abba* scheme, but with varied sestets:

abba abba ccd eed (15);
abba abba cddc ee (22);
abba abba cdde ce (29);
abba abba ccd ccd (40);
abba abba abab ab (89);
abba abba cdcd cd (94).

The curious arrangement in 89 is due to the use of two rime words only, *night* and *day*, upon which Sidney plays in various fashion after a not uncommon practice in Elizabethan England.

The second group of three sonnets has agreement in two of its sestets, but is otherwise varied as follows:

abab baba ccd eed (6);
abba baab cddc ee (13);
abab abab cddc ee (35).

If sonnets 62 and 71 are excluded from the classes to which they have been assigned with the slight emendations suggested above, they would form a group by themselves by reason of their unusual schemes:

abab abab ccd eed (62);
abba acca dede ff (71).

A summary for the octave and sestet forms used by Sidney may be worth while. The Italian octave scheme *abba abba* occurs in 74 sonnets, or 75 if sonnet 71 is counted as belonging to the first large class. These are the first and third classes and sonnets 15, 22, 29, 40, 89, 94. The octave with alternate *ab* rimes throughout is found in 25 sonnets, the second large class of 18, together with sonnets 3, 4, 35, 61, 62, 73, 88. A third scheme *abab baba* was used in 7 sonnets, that is 5-6, 10, 43, 75, 81, 87, while *abba baab* is found once in sonnet 13.

The most frequent sestet arrangement is the quatrain and couplet, *cdcd ee*, in 82 sonnets. These are found in the first and second large groups, including 71, and sonnets 5, 10, 43, 75. This favorite sestet arrangement of Sidney, it will be seen, is rather that of Surrey than Wyatt, the latter preferring the rime scheme *cddc ee*. The sestet order next in frequency with Sidney, *ccd eed*, is found in 17 sonnets, those of the third group and 3, 6, 15, 61, 73, 81, 87, 88.

Three sestetts have the arrangement *ccd ccd*, as in sonnets 4, 40, 62; and three that of *cddc ee*, the usual Wyatt sestet, as in 13, 22, 35. Single variants of the sestet scheme are found in 29, 89, and 94.

Sidney composed twenty sonnets besides those of *Astrophel and Stella*. Of these 16 appear among the Miscellaneous Poems of the *Miscellaneous Works* (Gray), and 4 in the *Arcadia* (Feuillerat). This assumes that the second sonnet on p. 225 of the *Miscellaneous Works* was by Edward Dyer, rather than Sidney, as Anthony Wood asserts. In these twenty sonnets Sidney used the English or Surrey rime scheme 13 times, that is in all those of the *Arcadia* and in 9 of the others. Of the remainder, two have Sidney's favorite scheme *abba abba cdcd ee* (p. 216), and one each the schemes *abab abab cdcd ee* (p. 230); *abab baba cdcd ee* (p. 222); *abab baba bccb cc* (p. 249), a quite unusual form. There is no certainty about when these sonnets were composed, as compared with those of *Astrophel and Stella*, but the *Arcadia* sonnets were doubtless earlier, and perhaps the others also. We may compare Spenser's use of the English sonnet form during his earlier years, and his later development of a form characteristically his own.

Western Reserve University.

FALSTAFF AND HIS FOREBEARS

BY JAMES MONAGHAN

I

In the following pages Shakespeare is revealed in the act (caught in the act!) of composing the plays of *Henry IV* and *Henry V*—probably, near the scene of his earliest triumphs, in the house of the recently arrived French emigrant and wig-maker, Christopher Mountjoy, at the northeast corner of Monkwell (Mugle) and Silver Streets, not far from Cripplegate, London. In this neighborhood also dwelt Shakespeare's friends Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, John Heming and Henry Condell, the latter two, fellow actors, remembered in his will and first editors of his plays, and, lastly, Richard Tarlton, who plays a prominent part in this paper. Outside the walls, beyond Cripplegate, were the Curtain and Theatre, the earliest play-houses of London, where Shakespeare began his career on the stage, first in some humble capacity, it may be as prompter's assistant or call boy, later no doubt taking part in interludes and extemporized plays, afterwards as play-cobbler, in collaboration with others, and finally as full-fledged author and dramatist, in which latter capacity he appears in these pages.

The primary purpose of the writer is to solve the problem, which has puzzled many generations of students, whether the unrivalled and amazing Falstaff was the pure invention of the poet's brain or whether he was drawn from a model.

Shakespeare's text has been examined so minutely, all its sources have been investigated with such painstaking—often painful—care, and the assertion that no model of Falstaff exists has been made so repeatedly by scholars that it will probably surprise the reader to be told that the very drama, which contains the prototype for the poet's immortal jester, can be pointed out. It will be shown, in addition, that Shakespeare developed the personality as outlined in this rather remarkable old chronicle play—remarkable certainly for the inspiration it gave the master poet of the world—and that he kept his finger on the lines, copying many incidents and numerous phrases. So much can be stated with absolute confi-

dence. It is also believed there can be established a more than plausible theory of the way the poet's attention was drawn to the character and why his imagination was kindled.

It is well known that Shakespeare's plays of *Henry IV* and *Henry V* were founded largely on the old chronicle drama of the *Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, containing the Honorable Battle of Agincourt*. The historical part of the old drama furnishes the crude outlines of *Henry V*. It closes with the surrender of the French army and the courtship and betrothal of Henry and Katherine. Our interest lies chiefly with *Henry IV* where indebtedness to the old play is much greater. In the chronicle drama the exploits of Prince Hal and his roystering companions and the comedy situations, discussed later, are set out with many details—not followed closely by Shakespeare, one merely suggesting the other. In both there is the robbery at Gadshill, in the neighborhood of London; the adjournment to the tavern of Eastcheap to spend the spoils; and the sudden interruption of the revels by the sheriff and his officers. In the old drama there is a trial before the Chief Justice when the Prince gives him the historic box on the ear, which has sounded through the centuries, only mentioned by Falstaff. In both plays there is an impressment of soldiers, numerous comedy situations in the camps, and finally, when Prince Hal has succeeded to the crown, his riotous companions are rather ungraciously banished, "on pain of death," not to come near him "by ten mile," but with vague promise of advancement, "if he hears well of them." From these slender threads the great dramatist has woven his matchless fabric of comedy.

Scholars all agree that hints of the comic action of Shakespeare's characters are to be found in the old play, but as careful a student as Halliwell-Phillipps says the real prototype of Falstaff "certainly does not belong to the *Famous Victories*." Many later critics have reiterated his false pronouncement. Such a misstatement can be explained only by the fact that Sir John Oldcastle of the earlier play occupies the same relation to the Prince that Falstaff does in *Henry IV*, and therefore would naturally be considered the prototype, while the clown, the real original of Falstaff, escaped notice because he is not a companion of the Prince and plays his part with a different setting. In truth, Falstaff is a composite of the two—*et aliorum*. In the old drama several speeches by Sir

John Oldcastle—showing the acknowledged coward and bombastic comedian—were probably enough to suggest to the poet the creation of a comic companion for the prince. But Derrick, the clown of the old play, is undoubtedly the original of Falstaff, as will appear by a comparison of the two plays, where it will be seen the two jesters are cast in the same mould.

When Shakespeare, in his study, opened the volume to read the old play, his eye was met by Prince Henry's call: "Come away, my lads." In *Henry IV*, as the Prince and Falstaff enter, the latter exclaims: "Hal, what time of day is it, lad?" Is it too fanciful to suggest that this last word may have acted as a tuning-fork for the poet's sensitive ear to give the pitch to the scenes that follow? At least, the verbal echoes, scattered through these plays, show how closely he scanned the text. Let us consider some of them. Derrick said to one of his companions in arms in France: "Be hanged in thy own language." Prince Hal says: "I can drink with any tinker in his own language." Again Derrick said: "I have brought two shirts with me." Falstaff: "I take but two shirts out with me," although, as he reports, there was not a shirt and a half in all his ragged company. Falstaff says: "I forgive thee. . . . Thou seest I am pacified." Derrick: "I am quickly pacified. . . . 'Tis a wonderful thing to see how glad the knave is now I have forgiven him." Falstaff twice uses the italicized phrase in the same exaggerated sense. Derrick, in recounting his military exploits, said: "I was called the bloody soldier amongst them all." Falstaff, Davy's "man of war," says: "I would to God my name were not so terrible to the enemy." John Cobbler's rhyme, recited to Derrick,

"With nut brown ale
That is full stale,"

finds a parallel in Silence's song to Falstaff:

"A cup of wine
That's brisk and fine."

Probably the most striking illustration of the verbal echoes of the two characters is the oath which is so often in the mouths of both men. In the old play, Prince Henry and his roystering companions, including Sir John Oldcastle, frequently use the expression "Gogs wounds," the equivalent of "God's wounds," one of Queen Bess's royal expletives, while the oath constantly on Der-

rick's tongue is the more common and abbreviated "sounds." When we turn to Falstaff, we find that (in addition to the "tut-tut," made famous by President Wilson) "zounds" is his special oath. So often does he use it that it has attracted the attention of critics, and Fleay suggests it must have been interpolated in the text by some actor. Without questioning the correctness of Fleay's surmise, the more obvious explanation is that Shakespeare took it from Derrick, it may be unconsciously, in his development of the character of Falstaff.

We find similar parallels in the old play and *Henry V*. When in the former the Dauphin sends a present to the English King of a "tun of tennis balls" to express his contempt for an English warrior, the King says: "My lord Prince Dolphin is very pleasant with me, but tell him that, instead of balls of leather, we will toss him balls of brass and iron." Shakespeare, on the same occasion, makes King Henry say: "We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us. . . . And tell the pleasant Prince this mock of his hath turned his balls to gun-stones." In dismissing the messenger, the King says in the old play: "Deliver him our safe conduct"; and, in the new, "Convey them with safe conduct."

Remembering that Shakespeare's study was probably in the Mountjoy house, we may quote Professor Wallace: "As you read *Henry V* you see Shakespeare, now in the midst of the Mountjoy family, now with some member of it [especially Mary, for whom he negotiated a husband], exchanging lessons in French and English, which serve as prototypes for the charming efforts of Katherine and Alice and Henry." Only a few lines can be given to show the way the material of the old play was worked over and the French lessons utilized. In the *Famous Victories* King Henry says: "But tell me, sweet Kate, canst thou tell how to love?" Then again: "Tush, Kate, but tell me in plain terms, canst thou love the King of England? I cannot do as these countries do that spend half their time in wooing." Katherine answers: "How should I love him that hath dealt so hardly with my father?" And again: "If I were of my own direction I could give you answer: but seeing I stand at my father's direction I must first know his will." In *Henry V* the King asks bluntly: "Do you like me, Kate?" Katherine: "Pardonnez-moi, I cannot tell vat is 'like me.'" King Henry: "An angel is like you, Kate, and

you are like an angel." Later he says: "And while thou livest, dear Kate, take a fellow of plain and uncoined constancy, for he perforce must do thee right, because he hath not the gift to woo in other places; for these fellows of infinite tongue that can rhyme themselves into ladies' favors, they do always reason themselves out again." Katherine answers, substantially as in the old play: "Is it possible dat I sould love de enemy of France?" To Henry's final "Wilt thou have me?" Katherine answers: "Dat is as it sall please de roi mon père." King Henry: "Nay, it will please him well, Kate; it shall please him, Kate." Katherine: "Den it sall also content me."

We have seen how closely Shakespeare studied the old play in composing both *Henry IV* and *Henry V* and how in *Henry IV* Derrick's phrases reappear in Falstaff's "throng of words." Parallel incidents in the lives of both jesters may also be noted. Derrick, it seems, lives with John, the cobbler, drinks his ale, "eats him out of doors" and quarrels with his wife, while Falstaff takes his ease in his inn, quarrels with his hostess, and "eats [but especially drinks] her out of house and home," as he puts "all her substance into that fat belly of his."

While the scenes of the impressment of soldiers in both plays have few if any points in common, it is apparent that Shakespeare took the idea from the older play, where, significantly enough, Derrick supplies the comic element.

Falstaff's "eleven buckram men grown out of two," may have been suggested, in its extravagance at least, by Derrick's remark that he was four or five times slain. This scene in both dramas contains identical tricks in playing the part of the bloody soldier. Derrick said that every day when he went into the field he would take a straw and thrust it into his nose and make his nose bleed so that when the captain saw him he would say "Peace, a bloody soldier," and bid him stand aside. Falstaff improved on this, for while he hacked his own sword with his dagger, he persuaded his companions "to tickle *their* noses with speargrass to make them bleed."

Still another piece of by-play was taken bodily by Shakespeare from the old play. Derrick and John Cobbler witnessed the scene where Hal gave the Chief Justice a box on the ear, and they were so diverted by it that Derrick says to John: "Thou shalt be my

Lord Chief Justice, and thou shalt sit in the *chair* and I'll be the young Prince, and hit thee a box on the ear," and the scene is re-enacted by the clowns. This episode in the old play gives rise to the delicious bantering between Prince Hal and Falstaff, where Falstaff first and Hal afterwards impersonate the King, with the *chair* for his state, the dagger for his scepter and the cushion for his crown.

Having shown that the lives of Falstaff and Derrick run in parallel lines to the extent of identical situations and incidents, and similar turns of speech, to the point of Falstaff's 'damnable iteration,' in plays that portray the same scenes, it may be said that the much more important element of identity of character is also found. A superficial examination of the two plays will show that in each we have a swaggering soldier, in service against his will, aggressive when his enemies are unarmed and running away when they are armed; in each he is a coward, braggart, glutton, thief, rogue, clown and parasite; in each he has the same monumental unblushing effrontery and loves a jest even at his own expense.

II

The theory, mentioned at the beginning of this paper, of the way the poet's attention was arrested by the old play, and why it dwelt in his memory, remains to be developed.

Early in 1583, a company of actors, known as the Queen's Players, was organized, and Richard Tarlton, a special favorite of the Queen, was selected as the manager. Some three or four years later, when Shakespeare went to London, that city was convulsed with laughter by this actor. There are few names in the whole circle of Elizabethan literature so frequently mentioned, says Halliwell-Phillipps. Nash asserts in *Pierce Penniless*: "The people began exceedingly to laugh when Tarlton first peeped out his head." His memory "was cherished with delight" for a hundred years, and—hall-mark of fame—his portait served as the sign of an ale-house at late as 1798.

It was particularly as a clownish comedian that Tarlton won his enormous reputation. Baker, in his *Chronicles*, puts it rather strongly when he states that Tarlton, "for the clown's part, never had his match, never will have." It must be recollected, to follow Halliwell-Phillipps, that the clown was a much more important

and privileged person in Tarlton's day than in our own. He not only entered on the stage at stated intervals, but continually mixed with the company, and attempted to excite merriment by any species of buffoonery that occurred to him, and frequently entered into a contest of raillery and sarcasm with some of the audience. This practise had grown to such an extent in Shakespeare's time that he protested, in the words of Hamlet: 'Let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them.' So famous was Tarlton for extemporizing that it gave rise to the Elizabethan word 'Tarltonizing.'

It has been suggested with great likelihood (Sidney Lee's *D. N. B.*) that, in Hamlet's eulogy on Yorick, Shakespeare embodied youthful remembrances of the great comedian. The time mentioned by the grave-digger, it is pointed out, agrees with the date of Tarlton's death. A part of the speech may be quoted to show its aptness to this conjecture. Gazing on the skull, Hamlet says: "Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him, Horatio; a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy; he hath borne me on his back a thousand times. . . . Here hung those lips that I have kissed I know not how oft. Where be your jibes now? your gambols? your songs? your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar?"

The facts of this conjecture, if they are correct, may have had an important bearing on Shakespeare's career, as well as on the details of this study. If this famous actor was on terms of intimacy with the precocious youth of Stratford, in his most impressionable years, the latter would prove an apt pupil, and it would help to explain how he rose so rapidly in his profession. When we recall that Shakespeare's father as high-bailiff or mayor of Stratford was the first to license players there, that the initial performance was usually a free entertainment, called the mayor's play, and that these theatrical performances were continued with increasing frequency from year to year until Shakespeare went to London, it would be strange indeed if he did not know many of the players. It is on record that in 1587 Tarlton's Queen's Players visited Stratford-on-Avon, as did two other leading companies. It is more than likely, as Professor Baynes suggests, that these associations helped to decide the career of young Shakespeare, and, it may be added, to equip him for his brilliant dramatic achievements.

The important thing, in our present study, is that, when Shakespeare went to London, Tarlton, the great comedian, with his inimitable drollery and wealth of improvisation, was acting the part of Derrick, the clown, in the old play which we have been considering. In Tarlton's hands Derrick must have been amusing beyond any conception we can form from the printed page. It is inconceivable that Shakespeare did not witness him in this famous role, or that, having heard him, he should ever forget it.

One of Tarlton's interpolations in the character of Derrick has been preserved. In *Tarlton's Jests* published in Shakespeare's time, is this "excellent jest of Tarlton's suddenly spoken": "At the Bull of Bishopsgate [a theatre near Cripplegate] was a play of *Henry the Fifth* [the *Famous Victories*] wherein the judge was to take a box on the ear; and because he was absent that should take the blow, Tarlton himself, ever forward to please, took upon him to play the same judge beside his part of the clown: and Knel, then playing Henry the Fifth, hit Tarlton a sound box indeed, which made the people laugh the more because it was he; but anon the judge goes in, and immediately Tarlton in his clown's clothes comes out and asks the actors, 'What news?' 'O,' saith one, 'hadst thou been here thou shouldst have seen Prince Henry hit the judge a terrible box on the ear.' 'What, man,' said Tarlton, 'strike a judge?' 'It is true, yfaith,' said the other. 'No other like?' said Tarlton, 'and it could not but be terrible to the judge when the report so terrifies me that me thinks the blow remains still on my cheek, that it burns again.' The people laughed at this mightily; and to this day I have heard it commended for rare; but no marvel, for he had many of these."

From this little jest (though surely not "suddenly spoken"), and from other contemporary evidence here given, it seems fair to assume that the clown of the old play was the mere skeleton of Tarlton's clown, as of Shakespeare's Falstaff; and this, by the way, may reconcile the different suggestions given above concerning "zounds" in the two plays, as the oath of Tarlton (Fleay's actor?) in the character of Derrick may have crept into the text of the old drama. It is not at all improbable,—but this is only conjecture,—that Tarlton's striking impersonation may have entered largely into Shakespeare's development of the character. What we know, as shown above, is that Shakespeare found the prototype of Fal-

staff in the well-marked characteristics of Derrick, the clown, that he grafted these on Sir John Oldcastle, and that they grew, under his magic hand, and developed into the greatest jester of all time, the immortal Falstaff.

Philadelphia.

RECENT LITERATURE

Berdan, John M. *Early Tudor Poetry, 1485-1547*. Pp. xxix, 564. New York, Macmillan, 1920.

This is the most important book of the year in the field of the English Renaissance, and its distinction is the more noteworthy in view of the fact that the past year has been one of unusual productivity. The outstanding qualities of the book are the exact and complete scholarship which it exhibits, the ability of the author to control his learning in place of being controlled by it, and the insight which the work displays concerning the foundation of English thought and expression during the Renaissance. Besides its usefulness as the most thorough-going treatment of its subject, it is an illustration of a kind of scholarship that is happily becoming less rare in America, the scholarship which insists on exact and painstaking investigation but is not content with accumulating facts at the expense of interpretation. Professor Berdan has written a book that is learned without being pedantic. The scholarship it displays is not the scholarship of George Eliot's Dr. Casaubon.

The book is constructed according to a very clear method. Mr. Berdan believes that whatever interest may be expected for his period lies in part in its contribution to the understanding of the great Elizabethan period that was to follow. He holds, rightly, that "students who begin English literature with the accession of Elizabeth act upon the illogical assumption that those writers had no literary past." But it is not sufficient to study the earlier period merely for the sake of the later; it is necessary to view early Tudor literature as an impression of the mental life and outlook of that age. There are three forces to take into account, Mr. Berdan holds, following Taine: the literary past of a great author; the present state of thought in his particular world; and his own personality. Thus, the difficulty many moderns feel in judging the *Faerie Queene* is due largely to ignorance of the literary past as known to Spenser. A knowledge of literary history is a necessary foundation for literary criticism. Accordingly, Mr. Berdan finds his problem "to give an understanding of the literary forces in the first half of the sixteenth century." This problem is relatively simple, and can be definitely solved. Its solution is important because upon this solution rests the interpretation of Elizabethan literature, that is, of the English mind in the Renaissance.

The book is composed of six parts, each a separate monograph: the background to the literature; the medieval tradition; the scholastic tradition; humanism; the influence of contemporary literature;

and a final chapter on Surrey as the most significant author of the period and the one in whom all the forces dealt with in the body of the book reached their culmination. This method is incontestably better than a study of types, or a chronological account of authors and movements. Nevertheless, there are certain limitations inherent in Mr. Berdan's plan. For example, such titles as "The Medieval Tradition" and "The Scholastic Tradition" are accurate enough if we understand by them the influence of medievalism or scholasticism on certain comparatively minor writers, but a student needs a much broader conception of what medievalism and scholasticism mean than he is likely to get if he depends on this book. This criticism does not apply to the admirable chapter on humanism, which impresses the present reviewer as the best rounded summary of the movement, so far as England is concerned, that has been written. Such materials as the reader gets from works like Woodward's *Vittorino da Feltre* and Sandys' *Classical Scholarship* are here brought into definite relation to the humanistic movement in early Tudor England. The chapters on contemporary literature and on Surrey are also admirable. Mr. Berdan treats the Spanish influence with fine thoroughness; though he naturally does not attempt to give all that Herford gives on the German influence, his treatment is balanced and sound; while the Italian contribution, more important in the later period than in the one under discussion, is nevertheless sufficiently brought out if we take into account the materials in the two chapters. The introductory chapter, on the background to the literature, is the best possible introduction to the study of the period. It should be required reading for all college students who are beginning the study of English literature in the sixteenth century. It is an extremely well written summary of the new forces of the Renaissance as reflected in English thought and letters. While Mr. Berdan does not make the mistake of holding that there is no essential difference between medieval and Renaissance, but only a natural evolution, an error that is very common today and is as bad as the older error of thinking that the English Renaissance is merely a reflection of contemporary movements on the Continent, yet he does show how intense and alive was the attempt to put new ideas into the old moulds. This conception Mr. Berdan rightly sees is pivotal. Spenser and Bacon, for example, can be best understood if we consider their works in the light of this principle.

One is tempted to quote some of the many felicitous comments, examples of wit, of irony and lightness of touch that make the book as readable as it is informing. Mr. Berdan is not so engrossed in his subject that he loses his sense of humor and proportion. No student of the period can afford to overlook this volume; it is pleasant to think that a necessary task will be found agreeable through the skill with which an immense amount of material has been presented.

Deanesley, Margaret. *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions*. Pp. xx, 483. Cambridge University Press, 1920.

This book appears in the Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, edited by Professor G. G. Coulton, and is an admirable example both of a sane and useful conception of history and of a sort of study that students of literature would do well to take into account. The object of historical study, it was well said by Droysen, is understanding by means of investigation. There is no way by which history or literature can be completely understood save by careful study of the facts, and such investigation, unless it leads to understanding, serves no very useful purpose. To understand, through research and the documents, medieval life and thought, or the life and thought of any period, is a high and useful aim.

Miss Deanesley's book is not merely a learned monograph on English translations of the Bible; it contributes to a study of the history of the freedom of the mind, and to a clearer understanding than we have had heretofore of certain aspects of the medieval tradition that helped build the English Renaissance. No student either of the later medieval period or of sixteenth and seventeenth century life and thought can afford to pass it by. For example, certain illustrations of the literature of the sixteenth century collected and printed for us through the industry of men like Dr. Rollins and Mr. Fellowes and Professor Berdan, find new meanings if read in the light of the material set forth in this book, while the background which it supplies for the study of Milton's defence of the freedom of the mind and of the philosophy of which Milton's whole life and work is a cardinal example, increases its claims upon the attention of the student of literature as well as of history.

The story begins with More's *Dialogue concerning heresies* (1528), a controversial work directed against Tindale. In the dialogue More gives the views of the intelligent layman of that period to the effect that all translations of the Bible are prohibited and sets over against this his own belief, as "a devout and instructed catholic, an eminent lawyer defending his case, and a fervent admirer of the new learning," to the effect that the Wycliffite Bible was heretical, but that orthodox translation was not only right and proper but was not objected to by the church. Here Miss Deanesley finds her problem, "to put the history of English Biblical translation into its European background and to consider English medieval translations historically from new material." The main field covered by the book, therefore, extends from the constitutions of 1408 to the burning of Tindale's Testament in 1526, but in her study the author discusses, in separate chapters, the prohibition of vernacular Bible reading in Europe from the time of Gregory VII, the translation of parts of the Vulgate in England before Wycliffe, pre-Wycliffite biblical study by clerks and lay people,

and the whole controversy from 1384 to the enactment of the Council of Oxford in 1408. In her conclusion Miss Deanesley holds that More thought the only objection to Wycliffe's Bible must have been that it contained heretical matter. He did not know that the only Bibles actually excepted in the prohibition of 1408 were in Anglo-Saxon or that the Wycliffite translation could have been objectionable only through its heretical prologue. She also shows the error in the belief that the late fifteenth century manuscripts of the English Bible were copies of earlier translations to which the church had not taken exception instead of being the early copies of Wycliffite texts. "The attitude of the medieval church," Miss Deanesley remarks, "has thus been seen to have been one of toleration in principle and distrust in practice."

Taylor, Henry Osborne. *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*. Two volumes. Pp. xi, 427; 432. New York, Macmillan, 1920.

These two volumes are in a sense a continuation of *The Medieval Mind*, by the same author, and possess many of the characteristics that have made the earlier work so useful. Mr. Taylor writes with the enthusiasm that springs from broad learning and intense interest in his subject, and he contrives to get this vitality over to the reader. This new book, like its predecessor, is not elementary or "popular" in style; neither is it pedantic. Its pages are alive with interest. Mr. Taylor introduces some almost forgotten worthy, writes of him as a man would write of a familiar acquaintance, and presently we feel that we are dealing not with bibliographical facts attached to some mere name but with a real personality, a man with human ambitions and dreams and with some accomplishment to his credit. The zest and sparkle of the pages make of the reading of these two volumes an adventure.

There is a further reason why these volumes should be welcomed by all students of the Renaissance. We have had many books and monographs on one phase or another of that tremendous period: treatments of the literatures of the new nations, some of them confined mainly to one literature and others dealing with literary relationships and cross influences; treatments of literature and art, with or without historical chronicles; treatments of their history with brief accounts of the literature and the like. But here is an attempt to view the period as a whole, a cross section of the intellectual life of Europe, a culture history that is concerned not only with one of the greatest of the centuries, but also with its foundations, near and remote, whence came the civilization that made that century great. This task, for a period so complex and vital, a culmination of all that had preceded and the beginning of the modern world, is of appalling magnitude. Mr. Taylor has much to say, much that he has to say is not complimentary, concerning Francis Bacon's temerity

in taking all knowledge to be his province; yet "all knowledge," in Bacon's day, is scarcely to be compared with his task who undertakes, in the light of the achievements of modern scholarship, such a summary of the content and achievement of the human mind in the century of Machiavelli and of Copernicus and Luther and Rabelais and Shakespeare. We think the advantage is rather decidedly with Bacon.

Besides the abiding interest in style, the rapidity and sweep and vitality of the story, and besides the daring of the whole ambitious scheme, there are separate chapters that interest not only because of the way in which they are presented, but also because through them Mr. Taylor is able to treat men of the utmost variety in achievement and philosophy of life. Examples are Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, among humanists and reformers; Machiavelli, Rabelais, Ramus, Latimer, Hooker. There are chapters devoted to the scientific movement, one of these dealing with the revolution in astronomy and physics.

Yet there are limitations. Bodin gets a bit over two pages; Shakespeare's name does not appear in the table of contents: he is concealed among the crowd of men discussed in a chapter on "The Dramatic Self-Expression." Luther and his forerunners and followers get about a hundred pages in a volume not overly large, and Calvin somewhat above forty, while Latimer, the Puritans, and Hooker are given about sixty pages; yet Elizabethan literature, including the drama, gets only about seventy-five pages and the treatment of literature in other countries is in about the same proportion. Now Latimer, Hooker, and Calvin are great names, and no account of the mind of the Renaissance can be complete without them; the theological element in the culture of the period can no more be ignored than in the period of Dante or Aquinas. Yet the formative elements that did most to shape the Renaissance were not theological, not even politico-theological. Mr. Taylor does well to emphasize the development of medieval lines of thought into the new age and thus to correct the impression we get from some works that the Renaissance sprang to full stature in an instant of time. But theology, while important, did not dominate those spacious days. It is precisely the lack of this sense of spaciousness, this failure to give us the feeling of the infinite curiosity about a thousand things, this new skepticism, this interest in human life itself, that limits, we think, Mr. Taylor's book in a way that no comparative table of paginations can show. No one can quarrel with Mr. Taylor for giving so much space to men in whom he delights, about whom he writes with so much authority and charm. The province of knowledge in which he is a worker is so vast that one must specialize in some parts of it and hope to stir interest in others, as Francis Bacon did; but a work which purports to give, as Mr. Taylor says his book purports to give, "an intellectual survey" of the sixteenth century, must be judged not as a collection

of interesting monographs but according to the claim which it sets up.

It seems to the present reviewer that the limitations of the book are not due to lack of knowledge or solely to the immense range of material. The fundamental theme of the book is sound. It is to be gathered from the preface and from the concluding chapter of the second volume. If we interpret Mr. Taylor correctly he stresses the flowing of one age into another. "Every stage in the life and thought of Europe represents a passing phase, which is endowed with faculties not begotten of itself, and brings forth much that is not exclusively its own . . . its capacities, idiosyncrasies and production belong in large measure to the whole, which is made up of past as well as present, the latter pregnant with the future." The author goes on to say that this transmitted influence of the past operates on the present both as knowledge and as suggestion,—materials to be made further use of, and that it may also be thought of as flowing on in modes of expression, language or plastic art. "The truthfulness of events lies in the process of *becoming*, rather than in the concrete phenomenon which catches our attention." In the last chapter, entitled "Forms of Self-Expression," which is the conclusion of the book and therefore vital to our understanding of it, Mr. Taylor repeats the theme with illustrations drawn not only from his own field, but from other great periods in the history of the race; yet in this summary the failure to fuse into something approaching a unity the two great principles with which he has dealt becomes more apparent. Mr. Taylor wrote some months ago of the medieval *mind*, he now writes of the Renaissance under the heading of *thought and expression*. He has not, it seems to the writer, lived up to his thesis of *thought*, partly inherited, growing by suggestion and new curiosity, culminating, in part at least, in *expression*. This is not to say that the complex age with which he deals can be reduced to the proportion of an Aristotelian tragedy. No synthesis of the Renaissance can be complete in any such formal sense. But surely, when a scholar states a definite conception of intellectual history one has a right to ask whether he has lived up to his promise. Professor Berdan's thesis that we may best understand the Tudor age in English literature through the study of the endeavors of men to force new ideas, ideas springing from an age of extraordinary curiosity and broadening of knowledge, into the old medieval moulds, forcing them until the old moulds cracked and new forms of expression had to be evolved, cannot lead to a complete synthesis of the larger field that Mr. Taylor has taken for his province; yet it seems to the writer that Mr. Berdan is nearer to a true conception of the Renaissance mind than Mr. Taylor. For Mr. Taylor has given us, after all, given us with extraordinary interest and brilliancy it is true, a book in which the chief impression is the history of the continuance of certain main lines of intellectual interest, that occupied his attention in his earlier work, with a more or less perfunctory impression of the extraordinary

variety and complexity of the literature in which those thoughts and many new thoughts found expression. On the other hand, the thesis for such a book should be not thought *and* expression, but thought as expressed, expressed in art, in sonnet cycles, in philosophical treatises, in drama and ethics, in theories of the state.

A single example will make this clear. Mr. Taylor gives belated but wholesome recognition of the significance of the new science from Copernicus to Kepler and Newton. He does not, we think, do justice to men like Bruno or Bacon. Their systems seem over-ambitious or rhetorical, or merely superficial. Yet they sum up at least as significantly as Luther or Calvin, the peculiar personality which somehow or other we attach to the Renaissance. The case is even more palpable in his treatment of Shakespeare, where he devotes pages to the sonnets as the expression of Shakespeare's mind, with little suggestion of the kind of thing in Shakespeare that Mr. Bradley brings out in his volume on Shakespearean tragedy. Of Marlowe and Spenser the treatment is even more unsatisfactory. Literature, in other words, seems to Mr. Taylor to be expression, that is, language, that is, rhetoric. Thus the section devoted to English literature (Rabelais and Montaigne, it is true, get better treatment) seems to be treated in much the fashion of the older historians who inserted at intervals in the more important sections of their political and military chronicles, as interludes for recreational purposes, biographical sketches of the writers of the period, with disjointed and appreciative comments.

Crane, Thomas Frederick. *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century*. Pp. xv, 689. Yale University Press, 1920.

This volume, the fifth in the series of Cornell Studies in English, will be found invaluable to students of certain aspects of life and literature during the later Renaissance. It is the result of many years patient study in several literatures and will be recognized as the standard authority in its field. Professor Crane discusses the enormous mass of courtly literature of which Castiglione's *Cortegiano* in Italy and Lyly's *Euphues* in England are outstanding examples. He traces the influence of a definite genre from Provence to Italy and through Spain, France, Germany and England. He is concerned with all that bears on the general subject of the recreations, the discussions of love, the characteristics of the court gentleman and lady. Of that deeper aspect of courtiership which stressed the duty of the courtier to the state he has little to say, and to this extent the book is representative of one side only of the Renaissance conception of the training of the gentleman, but the student of Castiglione, of Spenser, Sidney and Bacon, cannot but be grateful that the part of the subject which falls within Professor Crane's province is so thoroughly handled.

The chapters deal with the nature and the influence of the Tenzon, the questions of love, courts of love, with the influence of such works as the *Filocolo*, and with the influence of the city as the seat of social life in Italy. The author also deals with the modifications of the neo-Platonic philosophy through contact with Provençal love casuistry; with Urbino and its influence on literature; with parlor games and ideas of etiquette in Italy and other romance countries; and with the general influence of this whole body of literature in England, Spain and France. This summary is an inadequate representation of the immense amount of material Mr. Crane has collected, and gives no complete idea of the summaries of plots and characters or of the discussion of sources and influences contained in his text and notes.

Besides the convenience of the book as an anthology and as a body of source material, and its high value as a collection of documents for the study of social ideals, it will add interest and meaning to the study of English literature of the Elizabethan period. For example, it is useless to try to judge works like *Euphues*, *Arcadia*, the *Faerie Queene*, or the novels and romances of Lodge and Greene by modern standards only. To understand an author and his works, we must be able to look at the life of his time through his eyes, and to know the literary past as he conceived it. Thus, this book, different in its method as in its field from that of Professor Berdan, finds no small part of its value in what it does to enable us to get a Renaissance point of view. It is valuable to the specialist because of its thoroughness and its encyclopedic qualities; selections from it will also be found of high value as supplementary reading for students who wish to acquire a background for the study of the Elizabethan novel and short story, even of *Loves Labours Lost* and *As You Like It*.

Withington, Robert. *English Pageantry*. Volume II. Pp. vi, 435. Harvard University Press, 1920.

While the major portion of this volume is devoted to various survivals of ancient pageantry in modern times and to the important new forms, such as the Parkerian Pageant, of recent years, we find a complete history of the Lord Mayor's Show from 1209 to 1919, and, in other chapters, frequent links connecting the present and the past. This second volume also brings into fuller relief the length and variety of the story Mr. Withington has had to tell; the links between past and present; the continuity of human tradition, and, in the sections devoted to recent pageant history, the evidence of the great significance of these modern efforts to re-create the community spirit all but lost in the helter-skelter of modern life. The scholar has reason to be grateful to Mr. Withington for the industry and learning which he has brought to his task; the lover of dramatic art, for these beautiful volumes devoted to the history, through centuries, of a

form of that art; while every lover of his village or community, of his state or nation, or of human brotherhood itself, will find it profitable to read this very human story.

The present volume is composed of five chapters, the first four of which are separate monographs. In the first we have a history of the Lord Mayor's Show. The second is devoted to certain survivals and revivals of the older pageantry, political, trade, folk, the tournament, etc. In the third and fourth essays Mr. Withington treats the modern pageant from the Sherborne pageant in 1905 to the present time, both England and America being drawn on for material. The last chapter contains Mr. Withington's general conclusions, followed by a bibliography of the highest value to every student of the genre, and an index to the two volumes which one need only glance through in order to form an idea of the tremendous mass of material with which the author has had to do.

Professor Withington finds much that is chaotic in contemporary pageantry, but he sets forth very clearly the chief movements. The processional feature that was the main element in the older pageant has given way to something like the revival of the Elizabethan chronicle play. "It is a chronicle-play," Mr. Withington remarks, "differing from the Elizabethan chronicle play only in the fact that the hero is a town, not an individual." Mr. Louis N. Parker is regarded as the author of this modern form, which vitalizes history, introduces dramatic dialogue in the place of the older pantomime, becomes community drama. In America, more symbolism is found than in the work of Mr. Parker and his school, partly because America, as Washington Irving long ago pointed out, lacks the atmosphere, the legend, the long history, that England possesses even in her villages; and partly because of a certain confusion. Mr. Withington rightly points out that propagandists, seizing on the pageant as a means of social uplift, endeavoring to stimulate the community imagination, may exchange history for a vague symbolism and allegory. "The danger of this development is, that fact may become so diluted with imagination, that it will fail to awaken a community spirit . . . no community can be spurred to civic endeavor by frisking figures of Faith, Hope and Charity!" Yet he stresses Mr. MacKaye's eloquent appeal for the community pageant as a means of awakening instincts of militant social service in place of the instincts that find gratification in the pomp and circumstance of war.

Padelford, Frederick Morgan (ed.). *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*. Pp. 238. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1920.

The first volume of the Language and Literature Series of monographs issued by the University of Washington is given to a critical edition of the poems of Surrey. Professor Padelford, the editor of

the volume, has long been known for his work on English poetry of the early sixteenth century, and the present study is the fruit of long and painstaking scholarship in the field. Dr. Padelford supplies new titles for many of the poems in place of the titles given in Tottel, and has classified the poems by subject matter rather than by metrical forms. In this respect, as also in his biographical sketch of Surrey, he gains a more human interest for his subject, revealing Surrey as a man who wrote about things of interest to men and women rather than as an experimenter in poetic technique and an introducer of the Italian influences into English poetry. The introduction is a spirited and well-written story of a life full of dramatic interest, followed by a detailed analysis of Surrey's contribution to English verse. The critical apparatus includes textual notes; very full notes on sources, autobiographical elements in the poems, contemporary references, bibliographical and critical notes, etc. There is also a glossary. All students of sixteenth century English poetry will be grateful for this scholarly volume.

Fellowes, Edmund H. (ed.). *English Madrigal Verse, 1588-1632*. Pp. xx, 640. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920.

This beautiful volume is a treasury of Elizabethan lyric poetry that should be in every library. The book is divided into two parts, the first being devoted to the Madrigalists and the second to the Lutenists. It gives to students of the Elizabethan lyric a complete collection of materials heretofore available only in scattered volumes. It also reveals not only the astonishing number of the song lyrics produced during the period but the high quality of the words fitted to Elizabethan music. As the editor remarks: "It is a fact too little known to the ordinary man of letters or to people of average education that English music at the close of the Elizabethan era stood at the forefront of the music of Europe. This indisputable truth not only deserves to be recognized as a matter of general interest but ought to be inseparable from the ordinary course of general education."

In his short, but useful preface, Mr. Fellowes also speaks of the close study given by musicians to the words for which they were composing airs. They expressed themselves, he says, "with such intimate regard for the particular meaning of each word and each phrase, that the exact repetition of their music to a fresh stanza of words was scarcely ever possible." Thus the music "added new beauty to the 'golden-vowelled' lyrics, and intensified their meaning, so that Elizabethan music was indeed 'married to immortal verse' in equal partnership."

Twenty-five authors are represented among the madrigalists, including such well-known names as William Byrd, Thomas Morley, Ravenscroft, and Wilbye, with many less familiar. Among the twenty-one lutenists are Campian, whose four books are reprinted,

and John Dowland, with three books and the collection called "A Pilgrimes Solace." The subjects are of the greatest variety: love-lyrics, classical conceits, pastorals, psalms and dirges, songs on public characters, on the Gunpowder Plot, on tobacco, beer and ale, on the seasons. The editorial equipment consists of brief notes on sources, authorship, and other facts concerning the songs, with a full index of first lines and of authors.

Rollins, Hyder E. (ed.). *Old English Ballads, 1553-1625*. Pp. xxi, 423. Cambridge University Press, 1920.

The remarkable development of publicity methods in the last few years, by which corporations spend vast sums in appeals for public sympathy, or colleges seek to increase appropriations, or the ordinary citizen is urged to buy a stamp or bond, all in short that we call "propaganda," finds a counterpart in methods used by our ancestors in days before newsprint was as common as it is today. Henry VIII was irritated by black-letter ballads directed against Wolsey and Cromwell; he complained, also, to his brother-monarch, James V, of the Scottish ballads, in which he himself was satirized, to which James retorted that he suspected them to have been written "by some of your own nation." John Fox commended Cromwell for having contrived that "divers excellent ballads" had been written and sent abroad concerning the suppression of the popish idolatry. One aspect of the work of the group of professional ballad-mongers was thus analogous in some respects to that of the modern publicity man.

Illustrations of this point may be found in abundance in Dr. Rollins' invaluable collection of ballads and in his introduction to the book. The editor has collected a large number of ballads entered in the stationers' registers and now first identified and printed. Many of them are on religious subjects, some of these being controversial and others songs of devotion. Many of them are on themes similar to those found in Mr. Fellowes' collection of Madrigals, thus illustrating the great interest in lyric poetry during the period. Besides the printed ballads, Dr. Rollins includes a large number transcribed from manuscripts, the result being a collection of incomparable richness. The editorial apparatus, besides the general introduction, consists of special introductions to the texts, variants and a glossarial index. The book is beautifully printed and bound, the publishers having given it a form worthy of its unique value to all lovers of poetry as well as to students of Elizabethan literature.

Pound, Louise. *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*. Macmillan, 1920.

The writer of this review, having read a good share of the papers composing this volume on their appearance in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, *Modern Philology*, *Modern Language Notes*, etc., read the book on its apt appearance somewhat as she sometimes reads novels,—the preface, the *mise-en-scène* of the opening chap-

ter, the conclusion, and then straight backwards by chapters. It may be carping, it may be conceit, it may be the *ubris* of more or less Gallic training intruding in the field of a neighbor,—if so, forgive us our trespass—but I wish that the book had been recast in some such order.

Possibly the truly thorough nature of its preparation would have been a little less apparent. We should have ‘assisted’ less at the author’s mental development,—a little in the style of Jean-Christophe or the hero of M. Marcel Proust. And also of the evolution of scholarly thought on the subject in the past quarter of a century. But Miss Pound’s own excellent clarity of comprehension, incisive but not brutal perception of critical creeds that are fraying out, and above all her power to use this good judgment on fresh American subject matter, might have been more immediately evident to the general students to whom the book would seem to be addressed. Moreover its logic might have been more persuasive. Good sense applied to what is fairly familiar, and what presents no difficulties of language,—that is, American popular ballads, would then proceed more naturally to light up the really complicated questions of remoter poetic origins. The problem of the Homeric songs, for example, and the earliest epics in France, where every possible fastidious care is after all still vitally needed. Not to err at all with rigidity, doctrinaire or facile, in applying M. Bédier’s patient imagination of thought, makes demands on constructive talent as well as on precision of notation and style.

It seems to me that Miss Pound is strongest in the second, that is, in collecting her facts, and in taking intelligent count of parallel, but not related, manifestations. She sees as such the newspaper verse in dialect, which has its far origins sometimes in the Ossian-Chatterton experiments, and which is sometimes the social “fooling” of a body of friends. Personal contacts here have guided her better than some of our investigators are guided,—perhaps some illuminating bits of creative imitation and translation recently printed by psychological-artistic students of Romanic dialects may have sharpened her wits and her taste.

But even in the matter of notation there are what seem to me a few slips in fact or discrimination of fact, especially in matters of the texts that are quoted. The American Expeditionary Forces sang, “Tie up your troubles in your old *tin can*,” not the accurate “kit bag.” To have missed the joke is to have missed the spirit of a body of youths and maidens who certainly saw things as they were but went ahead anyhow! The “Y” ‘broadsides’ used in the very curious but by no means unsophisticated exercises in communal singing give the humorous, not the matter-of-fact, wording.

And however it may have happened, whether by bits of half unconscious emendation, by directer derivation, or purer racial transmission, better versions than some of those selected by Miss Pound

for illustration were current in Illinois, half a century since. On page 209 she cites the opening of one song, *Young Charlotte*, in lines that go much less well with the music than those I learned in Illinois, and which approximate the style of the poorer Child ballads far closer:

Young Charlotte lived on a mountain side in a cold and dreary spot,
No dwelling there for five miles 'round, except her father's cot.
But still on many a wintry night young swains would gather there;
Her father kept a social cot, and she was passing fair.

So at least a North of Ireland farm manager taught it to my father. On closer examination the better version really helps, not hurts, Miss Pound's intelligent thesis, and it is the same result that some of us tend to find with mediaeval French texts. The more "literary" form is often the older, and the music, where preserved, or the metrical scheme, where known and applied as a test, often points to a modicum of cultivation or natural taste in the composition.

There are one or two slight rigidities, too, that seem to me a little unfortunate in dealing with the critical theories. I doubt if any Harvard Modern Language scholar, since M. Bédier's writing, and certainly since his first visit at the time of Mr. Lowell's inauguration, holds the older, somewhat more German, theories without at least modification. Their older writings require reading now in the light of what they teach at present. And with Mr. Kittredge certainly,—with his disciples in so far as they really follow his mixture of realism and irony and final "More things in Heaven and earth, Horatio" attitude of examination, the romantic mistiness has seldom seemed at Cambridge to be more than a vein of intellectual mysticism and courtesy and piety to Child.

Harvard Romance and Comparative Literature students, at any rate,—who may be often among Mr. Kittredge's most sincere and admiring pupils, too,—know how far from credulous or sealed-up his disposition has been. Mr. Sheldon certainly handed on an entirely rational,—but by no means a Jacobin, mood, even before M. Bédier came *enfin*. We shall all have to be a little careful still not to repeat the pseudo-Classic errors,—to remember still the pearl of songs from the *Misanthrope*, and

I've heard them lilting at our ewe-milking,
Lasses a-lilting before the dawn of day.

Did Molière write the one as Scott wrote nearly the best of all the narrative ballads in Elspeth's song in the *Antiquary*, as Jane Elliot wrote the other? It may be so, it probably is. But if he did it was certainly in nothing resembling the frame of mind of Boileau's absolutely contemporary scorn for the 'Gothic.' Molière had heard something somewhere *juvénat rusticatem*, in *pleine Classicisme*, and Jane Elliot had at least the popular sympathy to know that her song would be at once on the lips of the Scottish rustics almost as a communal

cry. Not all the jazz of our own great War was too atrocious verse. The *Last Long Mile* is perhaps a bit of clever and not insincere acting,—of which the A. E. F. promptly caught the pose. The *com-media dell'arte* has given signs of reviving even amongst us, in certain highly cultivated circles,—since the visit of the Vieux Colombier artists. Let us use even excellent and delightful common sense with just enough of reverence, and curiosity, and sensibility still, to understand, among other phenomena, that of Romantic theories. Even if we live in and by them no more, our realism need not degenerate into naturalism, in criticism more than creation. Miss Pound's book is refreshing, delightful, but let her younger readers still remember inquiringly, as historic milestones, *John Brown's Body*,—and the Brothers Grimm.

MAUD ELIZABETH TEMPLE.

Saurat, Denis. *La Pensée de Milton*. Paris, 1920. Libraire Félix Alcan.

This comprehensive analysis of the system of ideas which constitutes the basis of Milton's poetry and prose is the more welcome in view of the almost universal tendency of recent criticism to disparage Milton as a thinker and to regard his greatest work as "a monument to dead ideas." Professor Saurat shows that Milton's thought, far from being dead, is, when disengaged from its theological form and considered in its entirety, fundamentally sound and full of wholesome stimulation for the modern mind. The book is by far the most systematic and complete survey of the intellectual fabric of Milton's work which has yet been published. It is possible to quarrel with the author's interpretation of the relation of Milton's opinions to his life and personality and there are unquestionable limitations in the account of the poet's philosophical and theological sources. But Professor Saurat's book remains an indispensable companion to the study of Milton and a valuable corrective to the point of view represented by such critics as Scherer, Arnold, and Raleigh.

J. H. H.

Saurat, Denis. *Blake and Milton*. Bordeaux, 1920. Libraire Félix Alcan.

In this monograph Professor Saurat elaborates in full detail the thesis that Blake is indebted to Milton for much that is most characteristic in his system of thought. After presenting the evidences of direct influence Professor Saurat analyzes the parallel and contrasting features of the conceptions of life held by the two poets and illustrates the resemblance in their general metaphysical outlook and particularly in their respective ways of dealing with dogma and myth. Blake is described as a "wild brother of Milton . . . a Milton who has broken the bonds of self-control and all control, and allows his magnificent soul to pour itself out haphazard."

J. H. H.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVI, 1919

	PAGE
Morris W. Croll. The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose	1
George R. Coffman. The Miracle Play in England—Some Records of Presentation, and Notes on Preserved Plays	56
Dudley Miles. A Forgotten Hit: "The Nonjuror".....	67
A. H. R. Fairchild. Robert Bloomfield.....	78
A. G. H. Spiers. An Ill-Advised Criticism of "Cyrano de Bergerac".....	102
Sturgis E. Leavitt. Paul Scarron and English Travesty..	108
Editorial	121
Hanford, James Holly. Milton and the Return to Humanism	126
Thompson, Elbert N. S. Milton's Knowledge of Geography	148
Gilbert, Allan H. The Cambridge Manuscript and Milton's Plans for an Epic.....	172
Cook, Albert Stanburrough. Four Notes.....	177
Thaler, Alwin. Playwright's Benefits, and "Interior Gath- ering" in the Elizabethan Theatre.....	187
Powell, G. L. The Castle of the Body.....	197
Recent Literature.....	206
Cross, Tom Peete. Witchcraft in North Carolina.....	217
Adams, Joseph Quincy. The Bones of Ben Jonson.....	289
Beatty, Joseph M. The Political Satires of Charles Churchill	303
G. Kenneth G. Henry. Roman Actors.....	334

Studies in Philology

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

EDWIN GREENLAW, Managing Editor

WILLIAM M. DEY

GEORGE HOWE

MEDIEVAL STUDIES

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SIXTH CENTENARY
OF DANTE'S DEATH

CONTENTS

CHARLES H. GRANDGENT—Illumination, - - -	377
JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER—The "Comedy of Dante," - - - - -	392
ERNEST H. WILKINS—Dante's Scheme of Human Life, - - - - -	412
JOHN S. P. TATLOCK—The Source of the Legend, and other Chauceriana, - - - - -	419
J. LESLIE HOTSON—The 'Tale of Melibeus' and John of Gaunt, - - - - -	429
W. F. BRYAN—The West Saxon and Kentish First Person Singular Present Indicative Ending -e, -	453
MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN—Bibliografia di Demono- logia Dantesca, - - - - -	459

Published Quarterly by

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

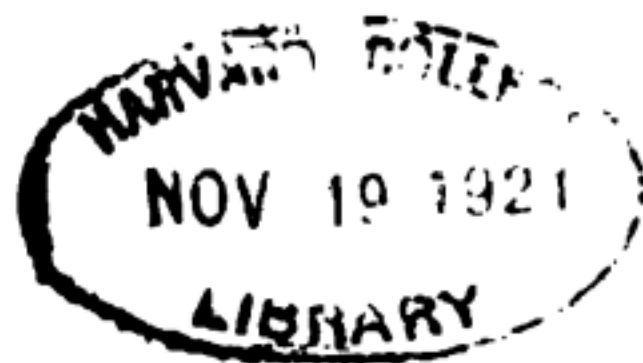
Agent for Great Britain and the Continent:

Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4.

Yearly Subscription, \$3.00—Single Copies, \$1.00

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVII, 1920

	PAGE
Charles H. Grandgent. Dante's Verse.....	1
Charles Read Baskervill. Dramatic Aspects of Medieval Folk Festivals in England.....	19
E. S. Sheldon. Romance and Romanic.....	88
Tom Peete Cross. A Welsh Tristan Episode.....	93
William M. Dey. A Note on Old French "Por-" in English	111
Oliver Towles. Forms of Asseverative and Adjurative Prepositional Phrases in Old French.....	113
Robert Withington. Scott's Contribution to Pageantic Development—A Note on the Visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822.....	121
Henry David Gray. The "Titus Andronicus" Problem..	126
Merrit Y. Hughes. Spenser and Utopia.....	132
Allan H. Gilbert. Milton and the Mysteries.....	147
Thornton S. Graves. Notes on the Elizabethan Theatres..	170
Raymond Macdonald Alden. The Lyrical Conceits of the "Metaphysical Poets".....	183
Hyder E. Rollins. William Elderton: Elizabethan Actor and Ballad-Writer.....	199
Recent Literature.....	246
Alwin Thaler. Milton in the Theatre.....	269
James Holly Hanford. The Date of Milton's "De Doctrina Christiana"	309
Edwin Greenlaw. Spenser's Influence on "Paradise Lost"	320
G. H. Harrer and J. S. Moffatt, Jr. A Thirteenth-century Fragment of Justinian's Digest.....	361
B. L. Ullman. The Present Status of the Satura Question.	379
John C. Rolfe. Marginalia.....	402
George Howe. An Applied Literature.....	423
Edwin Greenlaw. Spenser and Lucretius.....	439



Studies in Philology

Volume XVIII

October, 1921

Number 4

ILLUMINATION¹

BY CHARLES H. GRANDGENT

I

O imaginativa, che ne rube
Talvolta sì di fuor ch'uom non s'accorge
Perchè d'intorno suonin mille tube,
Chi muove te, se il senso non ti porge?
Muoveti lume che nel ciel s'informa
Per sè o per voler che giù lo scorge?

Purg., xvii, 13-18.

Was Dante inspired—not in the figurative, literary way, as when we call Shakespeare or Goethe an inspired poet; but really filled with the breath of the Lord, and speaking his message, as spake Moses, David, and Paul? The distinction between intellectual and divine illumination, though often blurred by the sophistry of unavowed skepticism, is clear enough to a clear-thinking mind, and was clearly recognized by Dante.

At the outset of his *Inferno* this Dante appeals to the Muses, who, as he has explained, in his *Vita Nuova* (Ch. xxv), are merely a poetic personification of the poet's art:

O Muses, soaring genius, aid me now!

Inf., ii, 7.

Again, on the threshold of his *Purgatorio* he appeals to the same power:

¹ Read at the Dante Commemoration Exercises, University of North Carolina, February 9, 1921.

But now let buried poesy arise,
 O sacred Muses! Yours alone am I.
 Calliope, draw nearer to the skies!

Purg., I, 7-9.

Calliope, leader of the Muses, inspirer of epic verse, patroness of style and elocution, had long since been thus invoked by Virgil, Dante's master:

Thee I beseech, Calliope: breathe on the soul of the singer!
Æneid, IX, 525.

But the song of Heaven, the *Paradiso*, calls higher for help:

O good Apollo, fill me with thy power
 For this concluding work, that I may get
 Deservingly the precious laurel dower!
 One peak of old Parnassus hath as yet
 Sufficed for me, but now I need them both
 To meet the crowning task that still is set.

Par., I, 13-18.

Two summits, or two ridges, cap the mountain of song, as Lucan and Lucian tell us. One of these Dante assigns as a dwelling to the Muses, or human art; the other to Apollo, or art divine. For his last voyage the bold traveler needs every guidance, earthly and heavenly: godlike wisdom must fill his sails, godlike artistry must stand at the helm, while sage Poetics shall chart his course by the stars:

The sea I sail was never sailed before.
 Minerva breathes, Apollo guides my ship;
 And Muses nine the northern stars explore.

Par., II, 7-9.

Now, in one sense, all products of the talent of man are of divine origin; for every human soul, when the body is born, is created by God, with its special powers of insight and comprehension; and every human mind is shaped by the stars that preside over its nativity, these stars being the instruments of the angels, God's ministers, who execute his eternal plan.

The spheres of nature, stamping their impress
 On mortal wax, without respect to place
 Or person, rightly do their business.

Par., VIII, 127-129.

When Dante, in his journey through the heavens, reaches the last visible sphere, the sphere of the fixed stars, he there enters his native constellation of Gemini, source of learning and literary skill:

O glorious stars, which teem eternally
 With mighty power, O light to which I owe
 My genius, wholly, such as it may be,
 With you arose the sun and went below
 (The sun, progenitor of mortal life),
 When first I felt the Tuscan breezes blow.

Par., xxii, 112-117.

Both nature and divine grace had favored Dante: the stars had given him talent, God had given him vision. As Beatrice declares:

Thanks to the whirl of giant wheels on high,
 Which every seed to this or that incline
 According to the stars that fill the sky,—
 And thanks to bounteous dower of grace divine,
 Which rains from clouds so far from mortal view
 Mine eyes shall ne'er behold them, nor shall thine,—
 This man had in him, when his life was new,
 Such potency that every gladsome gift
 Might well have proved in him its promise true.

Purg., xxx, 109-117.

But the use we make of our qualities depends on ourselves. Whether our acts and words be good or evil, whether the seed implanted in us shall ripen to sweet or bitter fruit, the merit or the guilt is our own; for we have conscience and free will. If we fail, the stars are not to blame.

Subject in freedom to a mightier Soul
 A higher Nature, ye derive from it
 Intelligence, beyond the stars' control.

Purg., xvi, 79-81.

It follows that the poet's utterances, drawn from his special range of vision, fashioned by his free choice, can base no claim to inspiration on the God-given wit without which they never could have been. They are the words of the individual man, not of his Maker.

Real inspiration is something quite different: it is the voice of God dictating a message, which the prophet receives and delivers. This voice, this light have in the past come to many, even to some who were outside the fold. Theologians early recognized that

those ancient Greek philosophers whose doctrines are so strangely akin to Christian teaching may have been partially illumined by a miracle of grace. To a like wonder the Sibyls may have owed their supernatural gift of prophecy. One may even be an inspired prophet unawares, as was Vergil when he wrote his Fourth Eclogue.

Thou didst as one who fareth forth by night
With lantern held behind, which helps not him,
But after him the people leads aright.

Purg., xxii, 67-69.

In Dante's Limbus, whose dark air is a-quiver with longing eternally unfulfilled, the abode of virtuous heathen and unbaptized children, stands a Noble Castle brightly illuminated; there dwell the great sages and heroes who, knowing not the true faith, received nevertheless some measure of divine enlightenment.

The honorable fame rëechoing
And heralding their names to mortal ears
Wins grace in Heaven, and such reward doth bring.

Inf., iv, 76-78.

By the most famous of the illumined poets of old, Dante is received as a fellow. With Virgil at his side, he meets Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan.

They spake together for a little while,
Then turned to me with hospitable hand;
My master watched their welcome with a smile.
Still more they did—an honor great and grand!
For they received me in their company,
And I was sixth in that enlightened band.

Inf., iv, 97-102.

Dante, who was no fool, knew well enough that he was a fit companion for the finest singers of antiquity; he knew well enough that since ancient Greece and Rome no one had sung as he did; and he knew also that he could sing of sacred things beyond the reach of any other poet, ancient or modern.

O ye who, following in little boats,
Eager to listen, have been led away
Behind my ship, which singeth as it floats,
Go back and seek your shores while yet ye may!
Tempt not the main; for, losing sight of me,
Ye haply on the deep were left astray.

Par., ii, 1-6.

Did he ever ask himself, I wonder, whether it could be that the breath of the Lord had breathed upon him, whether some remnant of the grace bestowed on the Hebrew prophets—even upon pagan philosophers and poets—had descended upon him? Would such a thought have been presumptuous?

Dante was on his guard against presumption; he recognized pride as his besetting sin. How sympathetically he depicts those sinners whose downfall was due to pride of intellect, to misuse of a special gift of nature and grace! Imperishable is the image of Farinata, the haughty heretic,

Standing aloft with breast and brow erect,
As held he Hell in fathomless contempt.

Inf., x, 35-36.

To the mystic seer, Joachim of Calabria, whose prophetic flights were sometimes of dubious orthodoxy, and to the audacious philosopher, Sigier of Brabant, whose orthodoxy, in one important matter, was worse than doubtful, he assigns a place in Heaven, among the lights of theology. Unforgettable is the poet's pity as he gazes on the distorted forms of the magicians and soothsayers, another class of beings exceptionally endowed:

Think, reader, for thyself, so God allow
Thee profit from thy reading, think, I say,
How I could keep mine eyes unmoistened now.

.
Indeed I wept, against a boulder prest
That edged the rocky ridge, until my guide
Exclaimed: "Art still as foolish as the rest?"

Inf., xx, 19-27.

Presently return to memory, flame-enveloped, the evil counselors, entrusted with the perilous gift of eloquence, among them the indomitable Ulysses, most romantic of all figures in the *Divine Comedy*.

Then sorrowed I, and sorrow now again,
When I recall the sight that grieves me still;
And more than ever I my wit restrain
Nor let it run without the check of will,
Lest whatsoever good a friendly star
Or something higher hath given, I turn to ill.

Inf., xxvi, 19-24.

And we know that he succeeded. Ere the end, he had subdued pride, we know: for, on high, Beatrice avers that her disciple possesses hope, the certain expectation of future blessedness (*Par.*, xxv, 52-54); and he has already been assured (*Par.*, x, 87) that no man once admitted to Paradise descends to earth without promise of return. Vainglory he has banished, at least from his great poem. However he may have longed to be the recipient of a divine mission, he never proclaims himself a mouthpiece of God. For grace to make the most of his own uncommon aptitude he ardently prayed; and if from time to time he wondered whether any of the heavenly words that sprang to his lips were whispered from above, he let drop no hint of it, save perhaps in the little passage *ond'io principio piglio*:

Imagination, which dost often steal
 The outer world from us, and not a shrill
 Is heard, tho' close a thousand trumpets peal,
 Who wakes thee, if the senses all are still?
 Wakes thee a light engendered in the stars
 Spontaneously, or by directing Will?
Purg., xvii, 13-18.

II

O vero isfavillar del santo spiro!
 Come si fece subito e candente
 Agli occhi miei, che vinti non soffriro!
Par., xiv, 76-78.

Of inner illumination, the inspiration of inborn genius, Dante had no lack and no doubt. I shall not now discourse of his skill as a craftsman: let us dismiss the Muses of poetry and look to Apollo, leader of the spirit. Considered as a spiritual guide, Dante may be called a mystic realist. His peculiar talent lies in the transmutation of closely observed real phenomena into mystic message. The material facts of life he clearly sees, and confronts them sturdily as facts; but he discerns in them a supersensual significance, an allegorical, moral, anagogical meaning. Thus the book of life, without ceasing to be a true story, becomes a volume of symbols. In its double function, life is like the Bible, as seen by its symbolist expositors. Not the Bible alone, but also the *Iliad* used to be so expounded; likewise the *Æneid*, the *Metamorphoses*, and other masterpieces.

For Dante, then, the world is full of hidden teachings, which it is his business to discover and impart. Cato and Martia, for instance, were historical people, who had a literal existence, but their career contained a cryptic lesson unsuspected by themselves; for the return of Martia to her first husband, Cato, after the death of Hortensius, is a symbol of the reversion of the noble human soul to God in old age. Even so in our own lives, and in the lives of those about us, lurk mystic meanings visible to those who have eyes to see.

Once, in his youth, Dante wrote for his friend, Guido Cavalcanti, a dainty compliment to two damsels, in the form of a sonnet. Out of courtesy to the recipient he naturally put the name of Guido's sweetheart before that of his own. In later years, when he was re-editing this sonnet and meditating over it, he detected in the order of the names a mysterious correspondence with the facts: for, on the occasion which gave rise to the poem, the first mentioned young lady, whose name was Joan, had walked a little ahead of the second mentioned, Mistress Bice, even as her masculine namesake, John the Baptist, had preceded Christ. The first maiden had indeed been named Joan simply because she was predestined to walk before Beatrice on this particular momentous occasion.

In events seemingly trivial may lie a solemn portent. I have ventured to guess that the mysterious number nine, which (as the square of the Trinity) is conceived by the author to represent a miracle, and which persistently haunts the relations of Beatrice to Dante through the prose exegesis of the *New Life*, originated in the apparent chance that impelled our poet to give Bice the ninth place in a boyish versified enumeration of the sixty most beautiful ladies of Florence.

Now let us consider one striking but typical example of the poet's illumination, his gift of transforming real experience into spiritual symbolism. Two circumstances of Dante's life brought him into close affinity with St. Paul. One was his attempt to visualize the glories of Heaven, an effort to transport himself thither in imagination, following Beatrice, who had been taken from earth. "I knew a man," says St. Paul (II Corinthians, xii, 2-4), ". . . how that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter."

This rapture he does not relate, because, he declares, "it is not expedient for me doubtless to glory." Likewise Dante, excusing himself for his failure to narrate the passing of his most gentle lady, alleges that "it is not meet for me to treat thereof, inasmuch as in such treatment I must needs be a praiser of myself, which is altogether unmeet and blameworthy in him who does it" (*Vita Nuova*, Ch. xxix). Afterwards, indeed, he did publish his maturer vision in the *Divine Comedy*; for self-praise is justifiable "when from discourse of one's self very great utility to others ensues by way of instruction; which reason moved Augustine in his *Confessions* to speak of himself" (*Convivio*, I, ii). On his heavenly journey Dante knows not whether he was nothing but soul, the last created part of man, or soul and body together:

Whether alone that part of me was I
Which thou, Heaven-ruling Love, didst last create,
Thou know'st, whose splendor lifted me on high.
Par., I, 73-75.

The same doubt was in the mind of St. Paul: "whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth."

The other common experience was a temporary loss of sight, an affliction that miraculously befell Saul on his way to Damascus, as is related in Acts ix, 3-18: "And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus, and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: and he fell to the earth. . . . And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus. And he was there three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink." During these days, it was believed, he had his vision of Paradise. Dante's blinding, as told in the *Convivio*, III, ix, was neither total nor supernatural: "Greatly wearying my eyes with assiduous reading, I so weakened my powers of sight that the stars looked to me clouded, all of them, by a sort of white blur. By long rest in dark, cool places, and by cooling the ball of the eye with pure water, I fixed once more the scattered faculty and recovered my former good condition of sight." In the *Vita Nuova* (Ch. xi) Dante poetically attributes another like mishap, not to study, but to assiduous weeping: "By this rekindling of sighs was rekindled my assuaged tearfulness to such a degree that mine eyes

looked like two things whose only desire was to weep; and by long continuance of weeping there came around them a purple color, such as often appears from suffering of some kind."

Mine eyes are vanquisht, and have lost the strength
To look at one who may return their gaze.
Vita Nuova, Sonnet **xxiii**.

In these accounts, indeed, there is no suggestion of a similarity to the blinding of Saul, who for a brief time lost his earthly sight that his spiritual vision might be brighter. It is only when the poet turns his physical accident to account in providing detail for religious symbolism that his case becomes parallel to that of St. Paul. In the allegory of Paradise, Dante, too, is blinded that he may see the clearer; during the unseeing interval, the doctrine of love is expounded. The blindness has come without warning:

What consternation set my soul astir,
When, turning to contemplate Beatrice,
I could not see her more, tho' close to her
I still remained, and in the world of bliss!
Par., **xxv**, 136-139.

His sight has been quenched by a glowing flame (the effulgence of St. John, exponent of love), into which he has intently gazed; not until he turns about to look at other things does he become aware, to his amazement, that he is blind. Presently he sees again, and better; but still not well enough. Once more, on entering the Empyrean, the real Heaven of spirit, Dante's vision is clarified by momentary extinction:

Thus round about me shined a living light
Which left me covered o'er with such a veil
Of brilliancy that nothing met my sight.
Par., **xxx**, 49-51.

Again and again, in the *Purgatorio* and in the *Paradiso*, we find the poet blinded or dazzled by an intense light.

As now to us the bird of Heaven did fare,
The nearer he, the brighter did he shine;
And when he came, 't was more than eye could bear.
Purg., **ii**, 37-39.

The dazzling objects in Purgatory are angels, ministers of divine illumination.

The sight of him had snatcht mine eyes away;
 And I fell in behind my leaders twain,
 Like one who walks by ear as best he may.
Purg., XXIV, 142-144.

One angel, hidden in its own light, sings a greeting.

We heard within a light that stood aglow:
 "Venite, benedicti Patris mei."
 I could not look, it overcame me so.
Purg., XXVII, 58-60.

Another, with a face of unbearable brilliancy, holds in his hand a
 naked sword,

Toward us reflecting all its rays so keen
 That more than once I vainly turned my eyes.
Purg., IX, 83-84.

In Paradise, whose tenuous fabric is chiefly light and music, the
 dazzling is of course more frequent. The effulgence may proceed
 from a saint,

So fiery sharp it overwhelmed my sight.
Par., XXV, 27.

It may shine from Beatrice:

She flasht upon my turning eye so quick
 My sense at first could not endure the strain.
Par., III, 128-129.

Again it emanates from Christ:

And thro' the living sheen came shining bright
 The gleaming Substance, with such clarity
 Mine eye, which saw, could not endure the sight.
Par., XXIII, 31-33.

Sometimes, in Dante's fancy, the blinding object is the sun:

As sunshine bows the eyes with heaviness
 And veils itself with brightness overdone,
 My strength was now unequal to the stress.
Purg., XVII, 52-54.

Noteworthy is this realistic touch—the sensation of weight over
 the brows. It occurs again:

Mid-nose exactly fell the solar rays,—
 For round the mountain we had circled so
 That we were facing straight the sunset blaze,—

When, worse than I had felt in all the glow,
 A heaviness descended on my brow,
 Amazing me, because I did not know.

Purg., xv, 7-12.

What Dante did not know is that the sudden increase of light, with its effect of weight, was due to the approach of a shining angel. On another occasion the crushing light comes from two of the Disciples, Peter and James, whom Dante metaphorically designates as the hills unto which he lifts up his eyes:

Thus comforts me St. Peter's flaming mate;
 Wherefore I lift mine eyes unto the hills,
 Which erst had bowed them with excessive weight.

Par., xxv, 37-39.

The inadequacy of the human eye to bear the direct light of the sun is a familiar thought to Dante.

As sunshine in the eye that quivers most.

Par., xxx, 25.

In the *Vita Nuova* (Ch. XLII) he says: "Our intellect is to those blessed souls as our feeble eye is to the sun." And in the second *canzone* of the *Convivio*, vv. 59-60:

These things our understanding overpower,
 E'en as a ray of sun a fragile eye.

A symbolic sun is no less overpowering:

O kindly Power, that shapest with thy light,
 Thou didst depart aloft to spare mine eyes,
 Whose strength did not suffice for such a sight.

Par., xxiii, 85-87.

As we have noted, the glory of the angels, God's ministers, is beyond human vision:

Mine eyes discerned aright each golden tress,
 But could not rightly see the shining face—
 Like any power confounded by excess.

Purg., viii, 34-36.

In these passages we have encountered sundry details remarkable for their verity: the blurring of the sight, the sense of oppression just above the brows, the inclination to bend the eyes down, the sudden terror that is felt on looking about and finding one's self

blinded. Another touch, still more intimate, occurs in the last canto of the poem: the feeling that, having once mastered the fearful brilliancy and fixed one's eyes on the light, it is useless to turn elsewhere:

So sharply cut mine eyes the living ray,
I think that I had nothing seen at all,
If I from it my sight had turned away.

Par., XXXIII, 76-78.

Where did Dante get this knowledge? We are sure that he was an adept in astronomy; we are almost certain that he performed an experiment in optics with a light and three mirrors (*Par.*, II, 94-105); we are amazed at the accuracy with which he could describe the course of the sun (*Conv.*, III, v). In *Convivio*, II, x, he shows a pretty clear understanding of the mechanism of sight. The *Divine Comedy*, too, contains a couple of arresting passages which reveal study of the eye:

A sudden glare awakens us from sleep,
With sense of sight intent to meet the gleam
Which membrane after membrane pierces deep.

Par., XXVI, 70-72.

The second one is still more curious in its portrayal of the same phenomenon, regarded from the standpoint of consciousness:

When all at once a sudden flash of light
On sleeping eyes doth knock, our slumber breaks,
But, broken, quivers ere it perish quite.

Purg., XVII, 40-42.

It is natural to connect Dante's interest in the eye and the phenomena of sight with the passing infirmity whereof mention has been made. He was inevitably concerned with sight because his sight had been marred and threatened. Is it over bold on our part to conjecture a more special experience than the incident he discloses? Fond star-gazer that he was, did he ever imprudently turn his gaze on the sun? In his allegory, at least, he did so, while standing in the Garden of Eden beside Beatrice, who set the example:

In quick response I did what she had done,
When I had caught the image of her act:
Beyond our wont I stared into the sun.

Much strength is there which human sense hath lackt
 Since Adam fell; because that favored spot
 Was made for man when man was still intact.
 I could not bear it long; but yielded not
 Until I saw it sparkle all around
 Like iron drawn from furnace boiling hot.
 Then suddenly was day to daylight bound
 (So it appeared), as if the One who Can
 A second sun to deck the sky had found.

Par., I, 52-63.

If without glorying it is meet for me to speak of myself, it so happens that I am able to verify the accuracy of Dante's observations; for once, in a moment of rashness, I stared at the sun. It was on Oct. 20, 1892, when a partial eclipse was observable in Boston. I had forgotten the impending event; but suddenly noticing the diminution of light, I thoughtlessly looked up, and then, being in a quiet street, fascinated as it were by curiosity, I kept my eyes fixed on the waning orb. The first sensation was painful; a dizziness, a heaviness over the brows, an almost irresistible pressure to lower the eyes. Presently, however, these symptoms passed away, and I was able to look steadily without the least discomfort, even with a certain sense of exhilaration, but with a vague misgiving that it would not do to avert my gaze. What surprised me most was that light and dark was transposed, the obscured section of the disk showing a luminous gray, the unshaded part nearly black. After watching the strange sight for some time with satisfaction, I turned to walk home, and discovered, to my chagrin, that I could hardly see. As Dante says,

That temporary impotence to see
 Which blinds an eye just stricken by the sun
 All sightless for the moment rendered me.

Purg., XXXII, 10-12.

All was dim; barely could I find my way. Some days of rest and darkness were needed to restore my sight; for weeks I could not discern the letters on a printed page; and for months afterward I could not endure anything white or shining. Instinctively I avoided persons wearing white garments. Once, in the sunshine, I unexpectedly encountered an old gentleman with long white hair and beard, whose glare upset me for a good bit. Dante's angels always make me think of him. Oddly enough, I was so ashamed

of my folly that I confessed it only to my oculist and two or three others; and to this day I have told it to very few. Most people thought that my brief disability was caused by overstudy.

Now let us return to the passage that narrates Dante's misadventure (*Conv.*, III, ix): "Such an appearance may be due also to the organ of sight, namely the eye, which by sickness or fatigue is affected by some particular coloring or enfeeblement. It often happens, for example, that when the coat of the pupil is reddened by the corruption of some infirmity, things almost all look ruddy; and so the stars appear colored. When sight is enfeebled, too, there occurs a certain scattering of sense, so that things do not appear united but scattered, very nearly as our writing looks on damp paper. That is why many people, when they read, hold the writ far enough away from their eyes for the image to reach them more easily and sharply, and thereby the letter becomes clearer to their sight. For this reason even the stars may appear murky. Whereof I had experience the very year in which this poem (*Conv.*, Canz. 2) came into the world; for greatly wearying my eyes with assiduous reading, I so weakened my powers of sight that the stars looked to me clouded, all of them, by a sort of white blur. By long rest in dark, cool places, and by cooling the ball of the eye with pure water, I fixed once more the scattered faculty and recovered my former good condition of sight."

The poem in question, *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*, was composed after the first *canzone* of the *Convivio*, namely *Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete*, which, in turn, being cited in the *Paradiso* (VIII, 37) by the young prince Carlo Martello, must have been written before his death in 1295, and probably saw the light not long before his visit to Florence in the spring of 1294. Our poem, then, *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*, would doubtless fall somewhere in 1295; and that would be the year in which Dante's sight was impaired. Now, it appears that on Dec. 8, 1295, there was a partial eclipse of the sun, visible in Italy. At this point let us recall a significant reference to a partial eclipse in the *Divine Comedy*. The word "eclipse" occurs in two other places, but in neither has it the appositeness it has in this passage, wherein Dante is seen trying to penetrate with his eyes the light that envelops St. John:

As one who stares and strives with all his might
To see the sun eclipsed to some degree,
And who by seeing robs himself of sight,
Thus I before that latest brilliancy;
Until I heard: "To see an absent thing
Whose place is elsewhere, why dost dazzle thee?"

Par., xxv, 118-123.

If the happening I have imagined be true,—and even if it be not, even if Dante needed no eclipse to hurt his eyes,—we may see, in all that has preceded, the difference between an illumined poet and an ordinary man. What to the latter is a trivial incident, annoying, perhaps mortifying, but commonplace, is by inspired genius so transmuted that it comes to represent the refinement of vision from physical sight to mental comprehension, and from comprehension to intuition or immediate perception, until the seer shall no longer see through a glass, darkly, but face to face.

Harvard University.

THE "COMEDY OF DANTE"

BY JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER

The title of the book, wrote Dante to Can Grande,¹ is: "Incipit Comoedia Dantis Alagherii, Florentini natione, non moribus." The Latin "Comoedia Dantis" means the "Comedy of Dante" as well as the "Comedy by Dante." I believe that Dante was quite aware of this ambiguity, and intends both of its alternative meanings at once.² The poem was his *Comedy* in that he wrote it. The poem was *his* "comedy" in that it relates how from a state at the beginning "horrible and foul," he, the protagonist, came to a state at the end "prosperous, desirable, and gracious." And such is the order of any comedy.³ His purpose in telling his story is to lead others living in this life along the same road from a state of misery to a state of felicity.⁴

Again, to take Dante at his own word, we should consider as part of his title the bitter qualifying phrase—"Florentini natione, non moribus." The surface meaning is obvious enough; but if the poem itself as a multiple meaning,⁵ might we not expect the title also to bear a deeper sense than meets the eye?

When Dante declares himself "Florentine in stock, not morals," he speaks after the redeeming experiences related in his poem. He has risen not only above his original state, but also above the state of his origin. His original state was the state of sin; his origin, the city of Florence, was a city of sin. This analogy may appear exaggeratedly fanciful, as well as unjust, but it is brought out continually in the poem itself. Florence, we are told, is

la città, che di colui è pianta
Che pria volse le spalle al suo Fattore.⁶

¹ *Ep.* x, par. x.

² The epithet "Divine" was given first in the edition of 1555, and its retention is, I think, a literary impertinence. Even if the contention in the present text is unwarranted, there can at least be no question that when a writer who so weighed and packed every item of his work gave a title, he meant it and meant something by it.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, par. 7.

⁵ *Ib.*, par. xv.

⁶ *Par.* ix, 127-128.

So planted by Satan, it has sprouted in envy, and flowered in greed:

E da cui è la invidia tanto pianta,—
Produce e spande il maladetto fiore
Ch' ha disviate le pecore e gli agni,
Però che fatto ha lupo del pastore.⁷

It is the "nest of malice."⁸ It is blown up with pride.⁹ Bestiality is the mark of those Florentines who accompanied Dante into exile.¹⁰ Now so is the infernal City planted by Satan, or Dis,¹¹ the abiding-place of "malice and mad bestiality,"¹² and prison-house of those whose guilt was due, not to the less culpable incontinence of desire or temper, but to envy and malice. It would seem, therefore, that Dante would represent his exile from Florence as a providential escape quite comparable to his rescue from the three wild beasts of the dark forest. He even refers to Florence as a "sad forest" full of wolves.¹³ But the exact return to the taunt of his title is his self-gratulation in heaven itself:

Io, che al divino dall' umano,
All' eterno dal tempo era venuto,
E di Fiorenza in popol giusto e sano,
Di che stupor dovea esser compiuto!¹⁴

Against this implication that the evil and arrogant men who banned him from his birthplace were after all unwitting instruments of Providence working for his salvation, may be alleged his desire and hope of return.

Se mai continga che il poema sacro,—
Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
Sì che m' ha fatto per più anni macro,—
Vinca la crudeltà che fuor mi serra
Del bello ovile ov' io dormii agnello
Nimico ai lupi che gli danno guerra,
Con altra voce omai, con altro vello

⁷ *Ib.* 128-132. *Fiore* is literally the florin, allegorically the greed of which the florin is cause and emblem. For envy as a Florentine characteristic, cf. *Inf.* vi, 49; xv, 68.

⁸ *Inf.* xv, 78.

⁹ *Inf.* xvi, 75.

¹⁰ *Par.* xvii, 62.

¹¹ *Inf.* xi, 65.

¹² *Ib.* 82-83.

¹³ *Purg.* xiv, 49-51, 64.

¹⁴ *Par.* xxxi, 37-40.

Ritornèrò poeta, ed in sul fonte
 Del mio battesimo prenderò il cappello;
 Però che nella Fede, che fa conte
 L'anime a Dio, quivi entra' io, e poi
 Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte.¹⁵

Superficially, indeed, the passage would mean simply that, won over by the splendor of his literary accomplishment, his fellow-citizens might one day readmit him to citizenship, and even crown him as poet at the baptismal font at which, a child, he had been admitted into the membership of the Church. But there are manifest hints of a deeper meaning. In that old time he had slumbered a lamb among wolves, their "enemy" indeed, but also their helpless victim. They had successfully "fleeced" and banned him. But one day his holy poem, mighty with the might of heaven as well as of earth, may "conquer"—not soften or appease, but *conquer*—their cruelty. Then will he return "with another voice, another fleece," and at the font of his baptism put on the "chaplet." To understand what is implied in the word "conquer," we should recall what Dante declared to be the purpose of the *Comedy*, namely, "to remove those living in this life from a state of misery, and to bring them to a state of felicity."¹⁶ In other words, its purpose was to convert men to Christ, the Lamb of God.¹⁷ And he, Dante, has by the Vicar of Christ, St. Peter, been given the sign of the aureole of the Lamb's apostle and prophet to men:

Pietro per lei (*la Fede*) sì mi girò la fronte.¹⁸

Poet as he is, therefore, he speaks, and will speak, "with another voice," the voice of a prophet. Also, he will be clothed "with another fleece,"—that of the Lamb himself, which figuratively signifies, among other things, the humility which shall be exalted.¹⁹ The "chaplet," accordingly, which he shall put on at the baptismal font, while to the general it may signify the glory of a poet, rightly understood will be sign and symbol of the aureole awaiting him as prophet and doctor of the Faith, and already conferred in his

¹⁵ *Par.* xxv, 1-12.

¹⁶ *Ep.* x, 268-270.

¹⁷ Cf. *Par.* xxiv, 2.

¹⁸ Cf. *Par.* xxiv, 148-154.

¹⁹ Cf. Albert. Mag., *De laudibus b. Mariae Virginis*, XII, v, viii, 7.

mystic vision symbolically by St. Peter.²⁰ But he will return to Florence, speaking with the voice of the Lamb, and wearing the garment of the Lamb, only as Christ himself descended into hell as

un possente
Con segno di vittoria coronato;²¹

or as he and Virgil, accompanied with that other "agnello,"²² forced their way into the City of Dis, whose "lamentable houses" had been before denied them.²³ And then, as Christ from hell drew Adam and Abel and Noah,

Ed altri molti; e fecegli beati;²⁴

so Dante would "bring to a state of felicity" those Florentines willing to heed the prophesying of his *Comedy*. As for the rest,—*vae victis!* For in rejecting him, they reject Christ's apostle.

This is a bold saying, but Dante says no less. At the same time, he realizes that one so declaring prophetic mission, must present his credentials, must in some sort prove his inspiration. St. Paul had written: "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a Preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent?"²⁵ Also, it is written: "A true witness delivereth souls; but a deceitful witness speaketh lies."²⁶ One may deceive oneself, as well as others. How

²⁰ Cf. St. Thomas, IV *Sent.* xxxiii, 3, 3, 3: "Aureola debetur doctoribus, et praedicatoribus, tantum docentibus ex officio vel commissione." Dante represents himself commissioned to teach both by Beatrice (*Purg.* xxxiii, 52-54), and by St. Peter (*Par.* xxvii, 64-66).

²¹ *Inf.* iv, 53-54.

²² Dante uses *agnello* for both "angel" and "lamb." Cf. *Purg.* xvi, 18; *Par.* xxiv, 2.

²³ *Inf.* viii-ix. It may be noted in passing that the angel, like Dante, is "disdainful" (*Inf.* ix, 88. Cf. *Ib.* viii, 44.); and that the "insolence" (*tracotanza*) of the evil ones in opposing the entry of Dante and Virgil into the infernal City had before been shown in opposing the entry of Christ into hell (*Inf.* viii, 124-126), and is paralleled by the insolence of the Florentines in barring Dante from their city.

²⁴ *Inf.* iv, 55-61.

²⁵ *Rom.* x, 13-15.

²⁶ According to the *Vulgate*: "Liberat animas testis fidelis; et profert

might Dante himself be sure that he was a preacher *sent*, that he was, in St. John's ampler phrase, "a true and faithful witness"?²⁷ And even if sure himself, how might he persuade others to listen to him?

Although the whole *Comedy* is an answer to this question, within the *Comedy* there is yet one declarative passage specially calculated to win the favorable attention of his readers. This passage is the "exordium," as he calls it, of the *Paradise*, which runs as follows:

La gloria di colui che tutto move
 Per l' universo penetra, e risplende
 In una parte più, e meno altrove.
 Nel ciel che più della sua luce prende
 Fu' io, e vidi cose che ridire
 Nè sa nè può chi di lassù discende;
 Perchè, appressando sè al suo disire,
 Nostro intelletto si profonda tanto
 Che retro la memoria non può ire.
 Veramente quant' io del regno santo
 Nella mia mente potei far tesoro
 Sarà ora materia del mio canto.²⁸

To explain and reënforce this exordium, to drive home its high significance for those capable of understanding, is the real focus and point of Dante's Epistle to Can Grande. Since such interpretation of the Epistle is certainly not self-evident, however, I must try to justify it.

The Epistle, the authenticity of which is now generally accepted,²⁹ has three parts,—(1) epistolary, (2) doctrinal, (3) expository.³⁰ Or in plainer words, Dante begins with a personal address to his patron; then, under six heads, gives an account of the poem as an organic whole including the *Paradise*; and finally proceeds to an exposition of the literal sense of the "prologue"³¹ of the *Paradise*.

mendacia versipellis" (*Prov.* xiv, 25). Geryon, symbol of Fraud or Mendacity, who "tanto benigna avea di fuor la pelle," might be a reminiscence of the "versipellis" of this text.

²⁷ *Rev.* iii, 14. *Vulgate*: "testis fidelis et verus."

²⁸ *Par.* i, 1-12.

²⁹ Cf. Paget Toynbee in his edition of the work, Oxford, 1920.

³⁰ These are Paget Toynbee's terms.

³¹ *Par.* i, 1-36.

What must, I think, strike every thoughtful reader is the apparently capricious manner of treatment, especially in the so-called expository part. The doctrinal part at least covers the ground in outline; but it is expansive often over seemingly plain matters, and puzzlingly laconic where the reader would welcome help. The expository part discusses with technical subtlety and apologetic amplitude the first part of the prologue, the exordium, then, after a mere perfunctory division of the second part of the prologue, the invocation, breaks off lamely, alleging as excuse anxiety as to the author's "domestic affairs."

Superficially regarded, what Dante appears to be offering to his patron is a sample,—one might almost say, a bait. The reference to his "*rei familiaris angustia*" can be hardly other than a none too subtly insinuated appeal to the Magnifico's generosity. To produce the goods indicated by the sample, to expound the whole poem, or even the whole *Paradise*, on the scale adopted for the exordium, would be a long labor, yet assuredly one of "public utility." Dante will gladly undertake it, if . . . Can Grande's "magnificence" will but provide!

This conception of the Epistle may be true as far as it goes. On the other hand, it is also true that it is presented as an objectively right "foreword" to the poem itself.³² Let us examine the argument more closely.

"There are six points, then, as to which inquiry must be made at the beginning of every didactic work; namely, the subject, the author, the form, the aim, the title of the book, and the branch of philosophy to which it belongs."³³ So Dante prepares for the doctrinal part of his commentary, conformably with the usual rhetorical rules. His six categories, however, are not on the same plane. The first four derive, as Pietro Alighieri declares,³⁴ from Aristotle's precept: "*scire est rem per causas cognoscere*." The causes of anything fall into four categories,—efficient, material, formal, and final. This fourfold principle of causation gives Dante his first four topics, the first two being inverted in order,—namely,

³² Cf. *Ep.* x, 73-74.

³³ *Ib.* 118-122.

³⁴ *Commentarium in Dantis Comoediam*, ed. Nannucci, Florentiae, 1895, pp. 2-3. Pietro's *Prologus*, or preliminary lecture, appears to be an interpretative amplification of the "doctrinal" part of Dante's Epistle.

subject, author,²⁵ form, and aim. Dante's two last topics—title, and branch of philosophy—are usually added, says Pietro, "magistraliter," that is, as a matter of teaching practice. In principle, the information conveyed under them would naturally be brought out under one or other of the first four topics, since to know the causes of anything completely is to know that thing completely. The two supplementary topics only serve for added clarity and convenience of exposition.

The first or determining cause in any action is the final cause, the author's aim.²⁶ The *aim* which moved Dante, as *author*, to treat a certain *subject-matter*—namely, "the state of souls after death"—in the *form* of the *Comedy*, was, as he said, "to remove those living in this life from a state of misery, and to bring them to a state of felicity." To that end he will show them the state of supreme misery—that of damned souls after death, and the state of supreme felicity—that of blessed souls after death. The Epistle itself defines only the latter: ". . . true blessedness consists in the apprehension of Him who is the beginning of truth," as appears from what John says: "This is life eternal, to know thee the true God," etc.; and from what Boëthius says in his third book *On Consolation*: "To behold thee is the end." This saying of Boëthius, "Te cernere finis," is thus a brief but exact definition of the aim, or end (*finis*), to which Dante would bring those living in this life.

To bring his hearers to this good end, however, he must first, as has been said, induce them to listen to him. To offer the needed inducement is the business of what the Rhetoricians call an *exordium*. To make a good exordium three things are requisite, as Tully says in his *New Rhetoric*; that the hearer, namely, should be rendered favorably disposed, attentive, and willing to learn; and this is especially needful in the case of a subject which is out of the common, as Tully himself remarks.²⁷ Dante's subject is indeed "out of the common" (*admirabilis*); "for he declares that he will relate such things as he who beheld them in the first heaven

²⁵ *Agente* has a secondary meaning of actor, or protagonist, also, as will appear presently.

²⁶ Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa theolog.* I-II, i, 2, c.

²⁷ *Ep.* x, 318-324. Toynbee's translation.

was able to retain.”³⁸ This declaration by itself, continues Dante, fulfills the threefold purpose of his exordium;³⁹ “for the profitableness of what he is about to be told begets a favorable disposition in the hearer; its being out of the common engages his attention; and its being within the range of possibility renders him willing to learn.”⁴⁰ Having said this, Dante immediately repeats it; and later, concluding the detailed exposition of the exordium, again he repeats that “the author says that he will relate concerning the celestial kingdom such things as he was able to retain; and he says that this is the subject of his work.”⁴¹

“Et hoc dicit materiam sui operis.” It will be observed that Dante has silently amended his previous definition of the “subject” (*subjectum*), or “subject-matter” (*materia*),⁴² of his poem, or at any rate of the *Paradise*. Previously, he had declared his subject to be “the state of blessed souls after death.”⁴³ And this definition is often quoted by critics without apparent recognition of its curious inadequacy. It is as if one should define the subject of *Hamlet* as “the something rotten in the state of Denmark,” and altogether ignore Hamlet himself. The real subject of the *Paradise* is, on the contrary, “the state of blessed souls after death” *which Dante saw, and so far as he could retain in mind*. And, as Dante by reiteration emphasizes, it is just the amending clauses that make his exordium a perfect one, capable of making the reader “benevolum et attentum et docilem,” of moving the reader’s desire and will equally with Dante’s own; until the reader may come to say:

già volgeva il mio disiro e il velle,
Sì come ruota ch’ egualmente è mossa,
L’ Amor che move il sole e l’ altre stelle,

as mediated for me through this “true and faithful witness.” In other words, Dante will be to his reader what Beatrice has been to him.

To achieve his end, therefore,—the salvation of his hearer,—

³⁸ *Ib.* 328-330.

³⁹ I. e., *Par.* 1-12.

⁴⁰ “Nam in utilitate dicendorum benevolentia paratur; in admirabilitate attentio; in possibilitate docilitas.” *Ib.* 330-334.

⁴¹ *Ib.* par. xxx.

⁴² Either term would indicate the *causa materialis*.

⁴³ *Ib.* 231-238.

Dante's treatment of his general subject,—“the state of blessed souls after death,”—could not be impersonal and objective like Milton's treatment of heavenly life in *Paradise Lost*. Milton did indeed express a thought at least analogous to Dante's when he wrote that “He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem.” Therefore, Milton might have added, he need not announce his qualifications in his poem, which by so much of nobility as it might possess, must prove him, its maker, to be also noble. Dante's purpose, the final cause which determined the form of his creation, was different. He was concerned not merely, like Milton, “to declare the ways of God to men” by an argument, however lofty, based upon external authority, however compelling. He would present such an argument, indeed, and would summon to its support the highest external authorities available, to wit, the self-revelation of God to men in Holy Scripture, as interpreted by Holy Church:

Avete il vecchio e il nuovo Testamento,
E il pastor della Chiesa che vi guida:
Questo vi basti a vostro salvamento!⁴⁴

So far he is at one with Milton. But to appeal to men by such an argument alone might also be called a work of supererogation. His words just quoted almost imply as much. For if the Bible and the direction of the Pope suffice for salvation, what need is there for his *Comedy*?

In answer, Dante might say that indeed he neither could, nor would, add any least item to the body of the Faith as interpreted from the Bible by the Church. But, as he defined it,

Fede è sustanzia di cose sperate,
Ed argomento delle non parventi.⁴⁵

But if one has passed beyond faith to the certitude of knowledge, he can, as a witness, give testimony that must fortify the faith of others less favored of God. The “sustanzia di cose sperate” is the “sustanzia,” or subject-matter of the *Comedy*, but its “argomento” is not “delle non parventi.” *For Dante has seen these*

⁴⁴ *Par.* 76-78.

⁴⁵ *Par.* xxiv, 64-65.

hoped-for things, even to their perfection in the direct and immediate vision of God, the cognition of his essence. And with him, as with St. Paul, it must be that God had vouchsafed this surpassing grace in order that he might be a witness unto men. St. Augustine had asked as to St. Paul: "Cur non credamus quod tanto Apostolo, Doctori gentium, rapto usque ad ipsam excellentissimam visionem, voluerit Deus demonstrare vitam in qua post hanc vitam vivendum est in aeternum?"⁴⁶ And St. Thomas adds that St. Paul was vouchsafed his "rapture" not that he himself might be blessed, but that he might be a witness of blessedness.⁴⁷ Moreover, no more than St. Paul, does Dante pretend to have seen all that the blessed souls after death see,⁴⁸ but only so much as might be useful to confirm men's faith. For him and for his reader, Love's injunction would still hold: "Non domandar più che utile ti sia." What then he saw, and was able to retain in mind and to communicate of his supernatural vision, was that which would be useful for salvation both of himself and of others. And in effect this residual boon is summed in the last words of all his message:

Già volgeva il mio disiro e il velle,
Sì come ruota ch' egualmente è mossa,
L' Amor che move il sole e l' altre stelle.

The "fulgore," the divine glory of what he had seen, had penetrated into his heart, and there re-glowed as perfect charity, and perfect charity is the one thing needful for beatitude. If his true testimony, set forth with all the art and inspiration accorded to him, can by its reflected flame so kindle the hearts of his hearers, his appointed task is done.

Dante's supreme credential, then, one making the appeal of his exordium altogether perfect, is that he has been an actual eye-witness of the divine things he will tell of, of the very Godhead itself. And it is that fact which makes *his* Comedy the most perfect of all comedies in that its curve of amelioration rises from the absolute zero of damnation apparently assured to the maximum of

⁴⁶ *X Super. Genes. ad litteram*, lib. XII, cap. xxviii, c. mem. Quoted by St. Thomas, *De ver.* xiii 3, 8.

⁴⁷ "Non enim rapiebatur ut esset beatus, sed ut esset beatitudinis testis." *Ib.* 8m.

⁴⁸ "Nec tamen oportuit quod omnia in se experiretur quae beatis inerunt; sed ex his quae experiebatur, etiam alia scire posset." *Ib.*

blessedness attainable in this life. He has been shown to stand alone with St. Paul in God's favor. No wonder he dares to call himself "your friend" to the "magnificent and victorious Lord, Can Grande." "Why not?" he exclaims. "Since even between God and man friendship is in no wise impeded by inequality."⁸⁰ No wonder St. James assures him that the Church Militant has no son of greater hope than he;

Però gli è concesso che d' Egitto
Venga in Jerusalemme per vedere,
Anzi che il militar gli sia prescritto.⁸¹

No wonder the spirits met in purgatory and paradise, amazed at his mortal presence among them, reverently felicitate this special friend of God. Hugh Capet, for instance, declares himself eager to inform him,

perchè tanta
Grazia in te luce prima che sii morto.⁸²

Guido del Duca is more emphatic:

O anima, che fitta
Nel corpo ancora in ver lo ciel ten vai,
Per carità ne consola, e ne ditta
Onde vieni, e chi sei; chè tu ne fai
Tanto maravigliar della tua grazia
Quanto vuol cosa che non fu più mai.⁸³

And in paradise, Beatrice commends him to the "company elect" as recipient of this most special grace:

O sodalizio eletto alla gran cena
Del benedetto Agnello, il qual vi ciba
Sì che la vostra voglia è sempre piena,
Se per grazia di Dio questi preliba
Di quel che cade della vostra mensa,
Prima che morte tempo gli prescriba,
Ponete mente all' affezione immensa,
E roratelo alquanto!⁸⁴

⁸⁰ *Ep.* x, par. ii.

⁸¹ *Par.* xxv, 55-57.

⁸² *Purg.* xx, 41-42.

⁸³ *Purg.* xiv, 10-15.

⁸⁴ *Par.* xxiv, 1-8.

St. Thomas strikes the same note of holy eulogy:

Lo raggio della grazia, onde s' accende
Verace amore, e che poi cresce amando
Moltiplicato, in te tanto risplende
Che ti conduce su per per quella scala
U' senza risalir nessun discende.⁵⁴

Such illustrations might be multiplied. But indeed, everything in the poem is in its own fashion confirmative of the unique quality of the protagonist. Beatrice testifies to his exceptional endowment by nature and by grace.⁵⁵ If in such strength he fell, he fell like Lucifer, son of the morning.⁵⁶ In his conversion she, the "miracle,"⁵⁷ effected a virtual miracle. And thereafter, the whole course of his spiritual progress is attended by virtual miracles. Demons and angels, sinners and saints, are diverted from their eternal occupations to his aid. Satan himself must permit his "shaggy side" to be used as a ladder. The very modesty of Dante's disclaimer to Virgil,—

Io non Enea, io non Paolo sono.⁵⁸

proves in the event a humility which specifically exalts him. For in the proof, he shows himself privileged even as they. Like the one he descended into the lowest hell; like the other he ascended into the highest heaven; and returned alive to earth. In effect, the Lord had sent a messenger unto him, as he had sent Ananias to Saul; and what the Lord had said of Saul would apply also to Dante: ". . . he is a chosen vessel"⁵⁹ unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel: for I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake."⁶⁰ And the messenger had in effect also said to him, as Ananias to Saul: "Brother, the Lord, even, Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales; and he

⁵⁴ *Par.* x, 83-87.

⁵⁵ Cf. *ib.* 117-120, 136-138.

⁵⁶ *Purg.* xxx, 109-117.

⁵⁷ *V. N.* xxx, 39; *Par.* xviii, 63.

⁵⁸ *Inf.* ii, 32.

⁵⁹ Dante uses the word of himself in *Par.* i, 14.

⁶⁰ *Acts*, ix, 15-16. Revelation to Dante of what he must suffer for truth telling is made especially through Cacciaguida.

received sight forthwith."⁶¹ When Dante stands before St. John in heaven to profess the supreme Christian virtue of holy love, he is blind. His momentary blindness, like Saul's,⁶² is due to excess of light,—in his case, the effulgent glory of the spirit of the Apostle of Love. To reassure him, St. John declares that his sight is but "smarrita e non defunta," and that Beatrice

ha nella sguardo
La virtù ch' ebbe la man d' Anania.⁶³

In other words, Dante explicitly asserts analogy between the conversion of Saul and his own. Also, there is another subtler analogy in one of the passages quoted from the Acts. Ananias said to Saul: "Brother, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost." Bearing in mind the analogy between Ananias and Beatrice as instruments of the healing of Saul's and Dante's "confused" sight, we may recall the episode related in chapter xxiv of the *New Life*. There appeared to Dante, in the way as he came, Beatrice preceded by Giovanna, so called, as Love explained to him, "da quello Giovanni, lo qual precedette la verace Luce." And Love, Dante continues, added immediately afterwards these words: "E chi volesse sottilmente considerare, quella Beatrice chiamerebbe Amore, per molta somiglianza che ha meco." Manifestly, Beatrice is figuratively identified with "Light" (*la verace Luce*) and Love.⁶⁴ To the other St. John Dante declared that the healing of his eyes began when Beatrice entered their gateway "with the fire wherewith I ever burn." This fire, which gives also light, is love.⁶⁵ And, figuratively speaking, Beatrice entering into Dante with the fire of holy love is in principle equivalent to the Holy Ghost entering into the Apostles as a "tongue of fire."⁶⁶ For the Holy Ghost is Love.

⁶¹ *Ib.* 17-18.

⁶² *Ib.* 3, 8-9.

⁶³ *Par.* xxvi, 7-12. It was due to *vista smarrita* that the *via* was *smarrita*. *Inf.* i, 3.

⁶⁴ Cf. *The three blessed ladies of the Divine Comedy*, in *Essays on the Divine Comedy*, by the present writer, Columbia Univ. Press, 1921.

⁶⁵ *Par.* xxvi, 13-15. Cf. *Purg.* vi, 38; viii, 77; xxvii, 96; *Par.* xx, 115-117.

⁶⁶ "Et apparuerunt illis dispertitae linguae tamquam ignis, seditque supra singulos eorum: et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto." *Acta*, ii, 3-4.

In fact, from the Holy Ghost come both kinds of grace to which in the *Comedy* Dante lays claim. These two kinds are the "grace making acceptable," and the "grace freely given." Meriting the former, man is united to God. Given the latter, with or without merit, man receives power "above the faculty of nature," to aid his fellowmen towards salvation.⁶⁷ As has been shown, the 'Dante' of the *Comedy* possesses both kinds of grace in the highest degree, is in fact represented overtly and by manifold insinuation coequal in quality with *the* Apostle whose conversion was also by a "miracle,"⁶⁸ who also, and otherwise alone of living men, had in rapture immediate cognition of the divine essence, and who also in the charity so infused bore the persecutions of evil men that he might reveal God unto others.⁶⁹

To modern ears, and I should think even also to medieval ears, a self-exaltation like this must appear, must have appeared, if not lunatic, almost blasphemous in its arrogant pride. Let me hasten, therefore, to make the distinction which the scholastically minded poet ever insists upon. I mean the distinction between quality and degree. Though he might repeat in kind St. Paul's experience, and from the similar effect deduce similar causal grace, yet his experience and his grace might well be upon an indefinitely lower plane of perfection. Indeed, he confesses by implication to the sins of pride and envy⁷⁰ and perhaps lust.⁷¹ And he is humble enough

⁶⁷ "Duplex est gratia. Una quidem, per quam ipse homo Deo conjungitur, quae vocatur gratia gratum faciens. Alia vero, per quam unus homo cooperatur alteri ad hoc, quod ad Deum reducatur. Hujusmodi autem donum vocatur gratia gratis data, quia supra facultatem naturae et supra meritum personae homini conceditur, sed quia non datur ad hoc, ut homo ipse per eam justificetur, sed potius, ut ad justificationem alterius cooperetur, ideo non vocatur, gratum faciens." St. Thomas, *S. T.* I-II, cxi, 1, c.

⁶⁸ Cf. St. Thomas, *S. T.* I-II, cxii, 10, c.

⁶⁹ "Paulus sextupliciter excellit caeteros apostolos: scilicet quantum ad specialem electionem, secretorum Dei cognitionem, malorum perpeccionem, virginalem integritatem, bonorum operationem et maximam scientiam qua emicuit." St. Thomas, *II Cor.* xii, lect. 3, primo. The only one of these excellences not attributed to the protagonist of the *Comedy* is "virginal integrity."

⁷⁰ *Purg.* xiii, 133-138.

⁷¹ At least, his terror of the purgative flame and scorching by it (*Purg.* xxvii, 13-51) have been so construed.

before Beatrice's rebuke. True, even in this humility of self-denunciation he still parallels St. Paul, who said: "And lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure."⁷² For the "thorn in the flesh"—in the Vulgate "*stimulus carnis*"—is interpreted by Dante's master, St. Thomas, as "prick of concupiscence," and was given to St. Paul, not for his damnation, but to cure him of his spiritual "blindness."⁷³ Precisely so Beatrice declares that Dante

Tanto giù cadde che tutti argomenti
Alla salute sua eram già corti,
Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti.⁷⁴

Really, he was shown the state of the damned, not objectively, but subjectively, in his own soul. One only *knows* sin by sinning. But even because his self-curative sinning was by divine mercy, he must be predestined to salvation.⁷⁵

St. Paul's further words, however, give the final clue to Dante's attitude. When St. Paul besought the Lord that this "messenger of Satan," this "prick of concupiscence," might depart from him, the Lord answered him: "My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness."⁷⁶ Therefore, Dante's "glorying," like St. Paul's, is in his "infirmities"; since in so "glorying" he is exalting the more the grace of God which has lifted him above them. And so indeed he would explain even the supreme "grace freely given" of his foretaste of beatitude, in his momentary beatific vision of God. Having asserted the truth of this vision, he adds in his Epistle: "*Si vero in dispositionem elevationis tantae propter peccatum loquentis oblatrarent, legant*

⁷² *II Cor.* xii, 7.

⁷³ "*Peccatum autem ad duo ordinatur: ad unum quidem per se, scilicet ad damnationem; ad aliud autem ex divina misericordia, vel providentia, scilicet ad sanationem; inquantum Deus permittit aliquos cadere in peccatum, ut peccatum suum agnoscentes humilientur, et convertantur.*" St. Thomas, *S. T.* I-II, lxxix, 4, c.

⁷⁴ *Purg.* xxx, 136-138.

⁷⁵ "... haec misericordia non omnibus impenditur exaectis, sed praedestinatis solum, quibus omnia cooperantur in bonum." St. Thomas, *ib.*)

⁷⁶ *II Cor.* xii, 9.

Danielem, ubi et Nabuchodonosor invenient contra peccatores aliqua vidisse divinitus, oblivionique mandasse. Nam 'Qui oriri solem suum facit super bonos et malos, et pluit super iustos et iniustos,' aliquando misericorditer ad conversionem, aliquando severe ad punitionem, plus et minus, ut vult, gloriam suam quantumcumque male viventibus manifestat."⁷⁷ "There is no respect of persons with God."⁷⁸ In spite of his "infirmities," or mercifully through them, Dante has turned to the light reflected for him in Beatrice; he has been converted. He has received the "grace making acceptable" in sufficiency to be assured of ultimate citizenship in that Rome where Christ is a Roman.⁷⁹ For salvation his merit, however otherwise slight, is enough increased by the very reception of the grace bestowed.

E non voglio che dubbi, ma sie certo,
Che ricever la grazia è meritorio,
Secondo che l' affetto l' è aperto."⁸⁰

The degree of "openness" depends on holy love, or charity, and his potential charity had been actualized by Beatrice, the incarnation on earth, and for him representative in heaven, of divine charity. In other words, Dante's saving merit is, like Folquet, "quis multum amavit." Indeed, Dante may have intended to draw a closer parallel with Folquet. For Dante too might say of himself:

questo cielo "⁸¹
Di me s' impronta, com' io fei di lui.
Chè più non arse la figlia di Belo—
Noiando ed a Sicheo ed a Crëusa—
Di me, infin che si convenne al pelo;
Nè quella Rodopeia, che delusa
Fu da Demofonte; nè Alcide
Quando Iöle nel cor ebbe richiusa."⁸²

Also, assured of redemption, he might echo Folquet's further words:

⁷⁷ *Ep.* x, 557-569.

⁷⁸ *Purg.* xxxii, 100-102.

⁷⁹ *Rom.* ii, 11.

⁸⁰ *Par.* xxix, 64-66.

⁸¹ Venus, the sphere of love which on earth had been "shadowed" with carnal desire. Cf. *Par.* ix, 118-119.

⁸² *Par.* ix, 95-102.

Non però qui si pente, ma si ride—
 Non della colpa, ch' a mente non torna,⁸²
 Ma del valore ch' ordinò e provvide,—⁸⁴

that is, as already said, of God's "strength," which, made perfect in his weakness, transformed his very fault into a saving grace. Finally, his association with Folquet and the heaven of Venus may be insinuated in Folquet's remark:

Ma perchè le tue voglie tutte piene
 Ten porti, *che son nate in questa spera*,
 Procedere ancor oltre mi conviene.⁸⁵

In other words, Dante's "will and desire" are moved in perfect accord with divine love, *caritas in patria*; but the grade of his charity is indicated by association with the earth-shadowed heaven of Venus.

If thus his future rank among the blest is comparatively modest, among men he goes possessed of another grace "freely given," that is, altogether independent of his own merit, which makes him an inspired instrument of God. God has revealed himself to him; and by that revelation he is given the gift of prophecy, both fore-seeing and far-seeing, that is, capable both of predicting future contingencies⁸⁶ and of interpreting things beyond sense. Moreover, with that gift is given also the ancillary gift, or grace, of "discourse," the "bello stile" in which Virgil had indeed been his human master,⁸⁷ but now he follows the dictation of a power greater than any human art, namely, of holy Love,⁸⁸ which, in the last analysis, is but the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, who is Love.⁸⁹

⁸² Dante of course has already experienced this forgetfulness of his past fault after immersion in Lethe. *Purg.* xxxiii, 91-96.

⁸⁴ *Ib.* 103-105.

⁸⁵ *Par.* ix, 109-111.

⁸⁶ E. g., the coming triumph of the Veltro.

⁸⁷ *Inf.* i, 85-87.

⁸⁸ *Purg.* xxiv, 52-54.

⁸⁹ St. Thomas, *S. T. I.*, xxxvii. Cf. *ib.* II-II, clxxvii, 1, 1m: ". . . Spiritus Sanctus excellentius operatur per gratiam sermonis id, quod potest ars operari inferiori modo." In connection with the above definition of Dante's claim of the gift of prophecy, cf. *Ib.* II-II, clxxi-clxxvii.

In spite of these distinctions, the question presses for answer—Did Dante—not the protagonist of the *Comedy*, but the actual Dante Alighieri who wrote the *Comedy*,—experience the mystic vision of God, or think so? Of course, to such a question a categorical yes or no is impossible. At most, we can only urge probabilities.⁹⁰ To my mind, the gravest objection to taking Dante at his apparent word is the apparently total absence of contemporary acceptance of, or even interest, in the matter. If a man of Dante's position and note had seriously put forward a claim not uncommon among mystics, we should hardly expect the conspiracy of silence that exists. His own son, Pietro, in his commentary frankly calls the literal story of the *Comedy* a "poetic fiction," (*ficta poesis*). It seems unlikely that he could so misconceive so tremendous an experience of his own father's.

Without pretending demonstrative certainty, I would offer a compromise view. Feeling himself moved by a strong spirit of charity actualized by the influence of Beatrice, Dante would have theological justification for believing himself given in consequence the gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁹¹ Principal among the gifts of the Holy Spirit are intelligence and wisdom, possessing which man "by a certain connaturalness" has cognition of divine things, not by discursive reason merely, but by a "divine instinct" above reason and participant in the intuitive faculty of separate, or angelic, intelligences.⁹² The *terminus ad quem* of this intuitive cognition of divine things is the beatific vision, or intuitive cognition of the supremely divine thing, God. Dante's "poetic fiction," then, would

⁹⁰ Mr. E. G. Gardner in his *Dante and the Mystics*, finds more positively affirmative grounds in the Epistle to Can Grande than I can quite accept. Unquestionably, assuming the rôle of his protagonist, Dante writes as if he had had the vision.

⁹¹ ". . . qui charitatem habet, omnia dona Spiritus Sancti habet, quorum nullum sine charitate haberi potest." St. Thomas, *S. T.* I-II, lxxviii, 5, c.

⁹² ". . . Sapientia, quae est donum, causam quidem habet in voluntate, scilicet charitatem, sed essentiam habet in intellectu, cujus actus est recte judicare." St. Thomas, *S. T.* II-II, xlv, 2, c. ". . . sapientia dicitur *intellectualis virtus*, secundum quod procedit ex iudicio rationis: dicitur autem donum, secundum quod operatur ex instinctu divino." *Ib.* I-II, lxxviii, 1, 4m. ". . . quamvis cognitio humanae animae proprie sit per viam rationis, est tamen in ea aliqua participatio illius simplicis cognitionis quae in substantiis superioribus invenitur." *De ver.* xv, 1, meo.

be to represent his protagonist as possessing to its human limit a gift of the Holy Spirit actually possessed by himself, but in lower degree. Such is his procedure with all his principal characters,—except indeed with the Virgin Mary, who needs no such enlargement of function. But Beatrice, who represents divine charity, *caritas in patria*, for him, is conceived as representing divine charity in itself. Lucia, the light-bringer to darkened eyes, becomes "intellectual light" itself. Virgil, the poet of a perfectly rational philosophy and unwitting prophet of Christ, becomes Reason itself made the instrument of God by the infusion of "grace freely given," but without the "grace making acceptable." Cato, martyr to self-freedom, stands for the very principle of Free Will. And so it is with the rest. Now one man actually fulfilled the requirements for making the human comedy of salvation perfect, who in this life rose out of the uttermost depths of spiritual misery to the uppermost heights of spiritual felicity. That man was of course St. Paul. And Dante, always imaginatively sensitive to analogies and correspondences more or less mystical, discovered many such between his own spiritual experiences and those of the Apostle,—enough at least to justify his asking, What man so worthy to represent St. Paul as Dante? even as he had asked, What man so worthy to represent God as Cato?⁹³ But his poetically affirmative answer in his own case no more meant that he regarded himself as the actual peer of St. Paul than that his affirmative answer in Cato's case meant that he regarded Cato the actual peer of God.

In conclusion, it may be again noted that that which, as Dante said, gave "perfection" to his exordium—declaration of the beatific vision—gave also perfection, in the same literally rhetorical sense, to his "comedy" as such. It is altogether incorrect therefore to define the hero of the poem as allegorically signifying typical Man,—as, for instance, does the hero of *Everyman* or Bunyan's Christian.⁹⁴ The "Dante" of the *Comedy*, on the contrary,

⁹³ *Conv.* IV, xxviii, 121-123.

⁹⁴ Cf. Paget Toynbee, *Concise Dante Dictionary*, s. n: Dante: ". . . Dante, as he appears in the poem, represents in the literal sense the Florentine Dante Alighieri; in the allegorical, Man on his earthly pilgrimage; in the moral, Man turning from vice to virtue; in the anagogical, the Soul passing from a state of sin to that of glory."

represents, not mean humanity, but progressively the whole potentiality of human nature from worse than brute to equal with angel. Or,⁹⁵ in other words, the character is an example, not of Man as he normally is, but of Man as he may by perversion of free will, or by the grace of omnipotent God, extraordinarily become. And the *Comedy of Dante* is that, in the beginning a potential demon, he was raised by love of the perfectly loving Beatrice to connaturalness with her, the actual peer of angels.⁹⁶

Columbia University.

⁹⁵ Cf. *Conv.* III, vii, 69-88.

⁹⁶ This assimilating power of love is clearly stated by Albertus Magnus: ". . . est enim amor amantis et amati quasi quaedam unio potissimum in bonis, et naturaliter illud quod amatur, in sui naturam suam convertit amatorem." *De laudibus b. Mariae Virginis*, IV, xvii, 1.

DANTE'S SCHEME OF HUMAN LIFE

By ERNEST H. WILKINS

My purpose in this study is not to contribute new conclusions, but to emphasize, and perhaps to clarify, by the assembling of related passages, by tabulation, and by brief comment, certain fundamental elements of Dante's thought.

Two extensive statements dealing with the joy possible to man during his life on earth appear in the *Convivio*, Book IV, Chapters XVII and XXII, as follows:¹—

Dov' è da sapere che propriissimi nostri frutti sono le morali Virtù; perocchè da ogni canto sono in nostra podestà, e queste diversamente da diversi Filosofi sono distinte e numerate. Ma perocchè in quella parte dove aperse la bocca la divina sentenza d'Aristotile, da lasciare mi pare ogni altrui sentenza, volendo dire quali queste sono, brevemente, secondo la sua sentenza, trapasserò di quelle ragionando. Queste sono undici virtù dal detto Filosofo nominate . . . *Fortezza . . . Temperanza . . . Liberalità . . . Magnificenza . . . Magnanimità . . . Amativa d' onore . . . Mansuetudine . . . Affabilità . . . Verità . . . Eutrapelia . . . Giustizia . . .* E queste sono quelle che fanno l'uomo beato, ovvero felice, nella loro operazione, siccome dice il Filosofo nel primo dell' *Etica*, quando definisce la Felicitade, dicendo che *Felicità è operazione secondo virtù in vita perfetta*. Bene si pone *Prudenza*, cioè Senno, per molti essere morale Virtù; ma Aristotile dinumera quella intra le intellettuali, avvegnachè essa sia conduttrice delle morali Virtù, e mostri la via per che elle si compongono e senza quella essere non possono. Veramente è da sapere che noi potemo avere in questa vita due Felicità, secondo due diversi cammini, buono e ottimo, che a ciò ne menano: l'una è la vita Attiva, e l'altra la Contemplativa. La quale (avvegnachè per l' Attiva si pervegna, come detto è, a buona Felicità) ne mena a ottima Felicità e beatitudine, secondochè prova il Filosofo nel decimo dell' *Etica*. E Cristo l'afferma colla sua bocca nel Vangelo di Luca . . . [Dante here at some length interprets the words of Christ to Martha as indicating the goodness of the active life and the superior excellence of the contemplative.] Potrebbe alcuno però dire, contro a me argomentando: poichè la Felicità della vita Contemplativa è più eccellente che quella dell' Attiva, e l' una e l'altra possa essere e sia frutto e fine di Nobiltà, perchè non anzi si procedette per la via delle Virtù intellettuali che delle morali? A ciò si può brevemente rispondere,

¹ I quote from the Oxford *Dante*.

che in ciascuna dottrina si vuole avere rispetto alla Facoltà del discente, e per quella via menarlo che più a lui sia lieve. Onde, perciocchè le Virtù morali paiono essere e sieno più comuni e più sapute e più richieste che l'altre, e unite nell'aspetto di fuori, utile e convenevole fu più per quello cammino procedere che per l'altro. . . .

L'uso del nostro animo è massimamente dilettono a noi, e quello ch'è massimamente dilettono a noi, quello è nostra Felicità e nostra Beatitudine. . . . E non dicesse alcuno, che ogni appetito sia animo; chè qui s'intende animo solamente quello che spetta alla parte razionale, cioè la Volontà e lo Intelletto . . . Veramente l'uso del nostro animo è doppio, cioè *pratico* e *speculativo* (*pratico* è tanto, quanto *operativo*), l'uno e l'altro dilettonissimo; avvegnachè quello del *contemplare* sia più, siccome di sopra è narrato. Quello del *pratico* si è operare per noi virtuosamente, cioè onestamente, con Prudenza, con Temperanze, con Fortezza e con Giustizia; quello dello *speculativo* si è, non operare per noi, ma considerare l'opere di Dio e della Natura. E questo uso e quell'altro è nostra Beatitudine e somma Felicità, siccome veder si può. La quale è la dolcezza del soprannotato seme [i. e., the divinely given potential nobility of the soul], siccome omai manifestamente appare, alla quale molte volte cotal seme non perviene per mal essere coltivato, e per esser disviata la sua pullulazione . . . Veramente di questi usi l'uno è più pieno di beatitudine che l'altro; siccome è lo *Speculativo*, il quale senza mistura alcuna è uso della nostra nobilissima parte, la quale per lo radicale amore, che detto è, massimamente è amabile, siccom'è lo Intelletto. E questa parte in questa vita perfettamente lo suo uso avere non può, il quale a vedere Iddio (ch'è sommo intelligibile), se non in quanto l'Intelletto considera lui e mira lui per li suoi effetti. E che noi domandiamo questa Beatitudine per somma, e non l'altra (cioè quella della vita attiva), n'ammaestra lo Evangelio di Marco, se bene quello volemo guardare . . . [Dante here at some length interprets the experiences of the three Marys at the sepulchre as confirming his statements as to the relative values of the active life, earthly contemplation, and heavenly contemplation.] E così appare che la nostra Beatitudine, ch'è questa Felicità di cui si parla, prima trovare potemo *imperfetta* nella *vita attiva*, cioè nelle operazioni delle *morali* virtù, e poi *quasi perfetta* nelle operazioni delle *intellettuali*. Le quali due operazioni sono vie spedite e dirittissime a menare alla somma Beatitudine, la quale qui non si puote avere, come appare per quello che detto è.

A minor explicit reference to the same matter appears in the *Convivio*, Book II, Chapter v, as follows:—

conciossiacosachè quella che è qui l'umana natura, non pure una beatitudine abbia, ma due; siccome quella della *vita civile*, e quella della *contemplativa*.

Furthermore, an extensive argument in the *Convivio*, Book IV, Chapter IV, maintains that universal empire is necessary for the government of man in the attainment of the temporal joy.

An elaborate statement of the whole scheme of human life appears in the *De monarchia*, Book III, Chapter XVI, as follows:

consequitur ut . . . solus inter omnia entia in duo ultima ordinetur [sc. homo]: quorum alterum sit finis eius, prout corruptibilis est; alterum vero, prout incorruptibilis. Duos igitur fines Providentia illa inenarrabilis homini proposuit intendendos; beatitudinem scilicet huius vitae, quae in operatione propriae virtutis consistit, et per terrestrem Paradisum figuratur; et beatitudinem vitae aeternae, quae consistit in fruitione divini aspectus ad quam propria virtus ascendere non potest, nisi lumine divino adiuta, quae per Paradisum coelestem intelligi datur. Ad has quidem beatitudines, velut ad diversas conclusiones, per diversa media venire oportet. Nam ad primam per philosophica documenta venimus, dummodo illa sequamur, secundum virtutes morales et intellectuales operando. Ad secundam vero per documenta spiritualia, quae humanam rationem transcendunt, dummodo illa sequamur secundum virtutes theologicas operando, Fidem, Spem scilicet et Caritatem. Has igitur conclusiones et media (licet ostensa sint nobis haec ab humana ratione, quae per philosophos tota nobis innotuit; haec a Spiritu Sancto, qui per Prophetas et Hagiographos, qui per coaeternum sibi Dei Filium Iesum Christum, et per eius discipulos, supernaturalem veritatem ac nobis necessariam revelavit) humana cupiditas postergaret, nisi homines tamquam equi, sua bestialitate vagantes, in camo et freno compescerentur in via. Propter quod opus fuit homini duplici directivo, secundum duplicem finem: scilicet summo Pontifice, qui secundum revelata humanum genus perduceret ad vitam aeternam; et Imperatore, qui secundum philosophica documenta genus humanum ad temporalem felicitatem dirigeret.

This statement, though it does not pause to differentiate the two forms of the temporal joy, is in perfect accord with the statements in the *Convivio*.

The essential elements of the scheme of life as defined in these several passages may be shown in tabular form as follows (terms derived from the *De monarchia* are in Latin, terms derived from the *Convivio* are in Italian):

<i>Finis hominis in quantum</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>quae consistit in</i>	<i>et figuratur per</i>	<i>Ad finem venimus per</i>	<i>operando secundum</i>	<i>Finis et media nobis ostensa sunt a</i>	<i>Directivum est</i>
<i>Corruptibilis</i>	<i>beatitudo huius vitae</i>	<i>la quale comprende</i>	<i>Paradisum terrestrem</i>	<i>documenta philosophica</i>	<i>virtutes morales et intellectuales</i>	<i>ratione humana</i>	<i>Imperator</i>
		<i>operare per noi virtuosamente, cioè onestamente</i>					
		<i>la vita attiva</i>					
<i>incorruptibilis</i>	<i>beatitudo vitae aeternae</i>	<i>la vita contemplativa</i>	<i>Paradisum coelestem</i>	<i>documenta spiritualia = revelata</i>	<i>le virtù intellettuali</i>	<i>Spiritu Sancto</i>	<i>summus Pontifex</i>
		<i>fruitione divini aspectus</i>					
					<i>virtutes theologicas</i>	<i>quae nobis innotuit per philosophos</i>	<i>qui veritatem revelavit per Prophetas, Hagiographos, Iesum Christum, discipulos eius</i>

Certain points in the scheme may be the clearer for brief comment.

Dante's own definition of the joy of the active life is that quoted in the table: *operare per noi virtuosamente, cioè onestamente*. He admits as equivalent Aristotle's definition of happiness as *operazione secondo virtù in vita perfetta*. It is to be noted also that he uses the phrase *vita civile* as equivalent to *vita attiva*. In view of these facts, the contrasting definition of the joy of the contemplative life, and the specifically civic temper of Dante's mind—as indicated, for instance, in the passage in the *Convivio*, Book IV, Chapter IV, referred to, but not quoted, above—we may fairly interpret his definition of the joy of the active life as meaning “loyal participation in the life of human society.”

Dante's definition of the joy of the contemplative life is that quoted in the table: *considerare le opere di Dio e della Natura*. Since Dante conceives Nature as the minister of God, the words *le opere di Dio e della Natura* are equivalent to “the immediate and the secondary works of God.” The thought underlying this definition is again expressed in the words: “E questa parte in questa vita perfettamente lo suo uso avere non può, il quale è vedere Iddio (ch' è sommo intelligibile), se non in quanto l' Intelletto considera lui e mira lui per li suoi effetti.” We may then fairly interpret his definition of the joy of the contemplative life as meaning “the contemplation of the nature of God as manifested in all his works, immediate and secondary.”

The temporal joy in its totality consists, of course, of the sum of the joys of the active life and the contemplative life. The definitions of the temporal joy offered in the *Convivio* and the *De monarchia*—*l' uso del nostro animo* (*animo* as here used comprising *volontà* and *intelletto*) and *operatio propriae virtutis*—emphasize as an element common to the joys of the active life and the contemplative life the exercise of the highest human faculties.

The *fruitio divini aspectus* is in no sense anthropomorphic. Its definition, not attempted in the prose works, is reserved for the last canto of the *Commedia*, where it is conceived as the supreme experience of power, of wisdom, and of love.

The extensive treatment of the nature of philosophy in the *Convivio*, Book II, Chapters XIII-XVI, and Book III, Chapters XI-XV, makes it clear that in designating *documenta philosophica*

as the *media* whereby man may attain the temporal joy, Dante had in mind not merely the works which fall within the field of the single discipline to which we now most often give the name "philosophy," but the whole body of human wisdom; and (see especially Book III, Chapter XI) that the acceptance of philosophy as guide involves an eager study moved not by the desire for *diletto* or for *utilità*, but by the true love of wisdom.

The eternal joy is to be attained, as we learn from many a page of the *Commedia*, only if the soul is at the moment of death in harmony with God. It is, then, immediately for the attainment of this harmony that man may have the guidance of *documenta spiritualia*, the exercise of the theological virtues, and the government of the Pope.

It is to be noted that *documenta spiritualia* and *revelata* are used as equivalent terms for the *media* whereby man may attain such harmony. Their common meaning is "revealed truth" as contrasted with "philosophic truth."

All the virtues are in Dante's mind, as we learn from the *Convivio*, Book IV, Chapters XVI-XX, fruits of a common *nobiltà*, a potential perfection given by God to every soul which in His sight is *ben posta*, that is, qualified to receive such a gift.

The moral virtues, as Dante says, "diversamente da diversi Filosofi sono distinte e numerate."² In his specific treatment of this question in the *Convivio*, Book IV, Chapter XVII, he accepts the Aristotelian list of eleven moral virtues, and follows Aristotle in rating Prudence as an intellectual virtue, while recognizing that Prudence is *conducitrice delle morali Virtù*. In Chapter XXII he uses the terms Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice—the names, that is, of the four "cardinal" virtues—to designate the virtues associated with the active life. In two images of the *Purgatorio*, that of the constellations of the southern pole and that of the dancers by the chariot of Beatrice (Cantos I, VIII, XXIX-XXXIII), Dante matches four virtues—certainly Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice—against the three theological virtues. He was nevertheless aware of the essential place of the intellectual virtues in the scheme of life. It appears

² Cf. W. H. V. Reade, *The Moral System of Dante's Inferno*, Oxford, 1909, Chapters VII and VIII.

therefore that he thought of the moral virtues as a group variously defined—the briefest classification being the threefold division into Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice, the fullest classification being that of Aristotle—and subject to the leading of Prudence, itself an intellectual virtue. It appears further that he uses the “cardinal” virtues, in the *Purgatorio*, as a summary designation for the combined group of the moral and intellectual virtues.

Dante does not himself enumerate the intellectual virtues. The words “bene si pone Prudenza . . . per molti essere morale Virtù; ma Aristotile dinumera quella intra le intellettuali” and their context indicate that Dante had in mind either the list in the *Ethics*, Book I, Chapter III, which comprises Wisdom, Intelligence, and Prudence, or the fuller treatment in Book VI of the same work, in which Wisdom and Prudence appear as main classes having subdivisions.

The theological virtues are, of course, Faith, Hope and Charity.

By empire, as we learn from the *Convivio*, Book IV, Chapter IV, and from the entire *De monarchia*, Dante means a monarchical world-state, having sovereignty over all local states and ordained immediately for the maintenance of peace and justice.

This scheme of life underlies all the works of Dante's maturity, determining them in purpose, in plan, and in many a detail.

Dante is indeed primarily the apostle of the temporal and the eternal joys. As man has, for the attainment of the temporal joy, the guidance of philosophy and the government of empire, so Dante is, in particular, in the *Convivio* and the *De monarchia*, the apostle of philosophy and of empire. In the *Commedia*, while he still proclaims these two great temporal causes, he is in particular the apostle of the eternal joy.

The very framework of the *Commedia* corresponds to the framework of the scheme of life; for as man comes under the guidance of philosophy to the attainment of the temporal joy, which is symbolized by the terrestrial Paradise, and under the guidance of revealed truth to the attainment of the eternal joy, which is symbolized by the celestial Paradise, so Dante is led by Virgil to Eden, and then by Beatrice, through the nine spheres, into the Empyrean.

The University of Chicago.

THE SOURCE OF THE LEGEND, AND OTHER CHAUCERIANA

BY JOHN S. P. TATLOCK

I. The Source of the Prolog to the Legend of Good Women

The essentials of the plot in the prolog to the *Legend of Good Women* are a reminiscence from one of the most picturesque scenes in Chaucer's own *Palamon and Arcite*, known to us now as the *Knight's Tale*. In a park-like spot at the beginning of May (evidently, *L.* 36, 45, 108; *K. T.* 1462-3, 1500, 1510-1, 1675), a powerful sovereign (*L.* 373 ff., 431) comes upon one or two lowlier persons who have offended against him and set at naught his authority. At first he does not recognize the offender (*L.* 311-5; *K. T.* 1703), then reproaches and threatens him severely (*L.* 315-340; *K. T.* 1742-7). The sovereign is accompanied by a queen (*L.* 302, 432; *K. T.* 1685-6), "clothed al in grene,"¹ and by a troop of other ladies (*L.* 282 ff., *K. T.* 1750) who (the queen alone or altogether; *L.* 341 ff., *K. T.* 1748-59) entreat mercy for the offender. The sovereign is reminded, or reminds himself, that a lord should be merciful (*L.* 376 ff., *K. T.* 1773 ff.), especially to the repentant and fearful (*L.* 404, *K. T.* 1776). Accordingly he pardons the offender (*L.* 450, *K. T.* 1818), at the request of the queen (*L.* 448, *K. T.* 1819); as we hear in identical words (*L.* 503, *K. T.* 1761),

pitee renneth sone in gentil herte.

The offender is, however, required to perform a certain task;² the fulfilment of which affords the matter for the remainder of the work.³

¹ In the one case because she symbolizes a flower (*L.* 214, 341), in the other because she is hunting (*K. T.* 1686).

² To write legends of faithful women (required by Alcestis, 481 ff.); to bring a hundred knights to a tournament (required by Theseus, 1845 ff.).

³ The resemblance between the *Legend* and the *Knight's Tale* in details not found in the source of the latter, Boccaccio's *Teseide*, is good evidence

The poems differ, obviously, in type and spirit. Though we feel in each the individual Chaucerian touch more strongly than the traditional elements, the *Legend of Good Women* is dream-allegory, inclined toward the emotional, conventional, fragile; the *Knight's Tale* romance, inclined toward the external, realistic, even the sturdy. So unlike are the moods of the two poems, and the pitch of these scenes, that some might be slow to grant a connection, if they were not by the same author. But Chaucer is believed by most critics to have written the *Palamon and Arcite* only shortly before the *Legend*. More than this, to prove the offender's real soundness in Love's creed, Alceste expressly mentions that poem in the prolog to the *Legend* (l. 420). As well refuse to see in the *Merchant's Tale* and the *Envoy to Buckton* the influence of the *Wife of Bath's Prolog*, which is mentioned in them (ll. 1685, 29). Further, Chaucer's "favorite line,"

pitee renneth sone in gentil herte,

which occurs also in the *Merchant's Tale*, the *Squire's Tale*,⁴ and

that hereabout at least the *Tale* and the *Palamon* were identical. There is no noteworthy parallel between the situations in the *Legend* and in the *Teseide*. Palemone and Arcita secure a promise of pardon before revealing themselves; Teseo, scarcely angered, proves kind from the first; the queen is not present, there are no women in green, no feminine entreaties, no reflections on the duty of a lord to be merciful (*Teseide*, V. 85-91). There is a like situation, also differently worked out, in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*.

‘That pitee renneth sone in gentil herte,
Feling his similitude in peynes smerte,
Is preved al-day, as men may it see,
As wel by werkes as by auctoritee (*Sq. T.* 479-482).

The authority alleged by the falcon in these opening lines of her speech to Canacee may have been the earlier works of Chaucer in which the first of the lines occurs. The passage may possibly contain a reminiscence from a less generalizing passage in the *Inferno*, where Dante sees the twisted forms of the false prophets (XX. 20-23):

or pensa per te stesso,
Com' io potea tener lo viso asciutto,
Quando la nostra imagine da presso
Vidi sì torta.

"Feling his similitude" is more suggestive of Dante's "vidi la nostra imagine" than of a princess sympathizing with a bird.

in a close variant in the *Man of Law's Tale*, appears for the first time in the *Knight's Tale* and for the second in the prolog to the *Legend*; when he repeated it, he assuredly did not forget the passage where he had put it first.⁵ Further, when Chaucer wrote Theseus' speech to the culprits (ll. 1785 ff.), his thoughts were not far from the French love-allegory which Professor Lowes so ably showed to be woven all through the prolog of the *Legend*. To compare our two poems with this only makes their relation clearer. While a certain amount of the parallel detail (especially the setting) is traditional in French amorous allegory, nowhere are the essentials of what happens in the prolog to the *Legend* paralleled as in the *Knight's Tale*.⁶

The prolog of the *Legend* has rested in peace ^{so} these many years. What has just been said upsets nothing, and by no means belittles the contrivance influence upon it exerted by Machault, Deschamps, and Froissart. Most of what started Chaucer's genius to make it what it is came from them. Its frame came from the *Knight's Tale* and ecclesiastical usage,⁷ its flesh from love-allegory, its blood and

⁵ There is another almost identical passage. The poet has so great affection to the daisies,

whan comen is the May,
That in my bed ther daweth me no day
That I nam up (L. 45-7);

Theseus is so desirous to hunt the hart . .

in May,
That in his bed ther daweth him no day
That he nis clad. (K. T. 1675-7).

⁶ Certainly not in Deschamps' *Lai de Franchise* or Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*, the poems most like in plot (Lowes, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XIX, 635-658). Though they belong to the same type of poem as the prolog, while the *Knight's Tale* does not, the parallels differ greatly in proportion and essentialness from those in the *Knight's Tale*. Cf. W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame* (Ch. Soc., 1907), p. 27, etc. Professor Lowes has himself pointed to a probable case of reminiscence of details between these same two poems of Chaucer, though I believe he erred in putting the *Legend of Ariadne* before the *Knight's Tale* (*P. M. L. A.* XX, 802 ff.).

⁷ The broadest conception of the whole *Legend of Good Women*, as well as much of the detail, is ecclesiastical-liturgical, and not love-allegorical at all. One will remember the title of the work, and the rubrics which

life from Chaucer's fresh fancy, his veracity, his gift of tongues. What has just been pointed to is merely another indication of the charm which Chaucer felt in literary precedent; this time, as often, literary precedent in his own works. Repetition of his own phrases and his own motives is far too frequent and too conspicuous to have been inadvertent or to have passed unnoticed in his own day. It is not merely that the middle ages did not esteem novelty in thought or language as highly as we do, and approved economy of effort in unessentials; that the units of which a mediæval literary structure is composed are larger and plainer than with ours, that mediæval poetry is like a mosaic rather than a painting. More than this, recurrence of like phrases, characters, and situations in fresh surroundings may have given him and his auditors in the placid restful Middle Ages much the same pleasure that we get from recurrent musical motives in a symphony or opera.

II. "Holynesse"

In the *Legend of Good Women* Alcestis invokes Cupid's mercy on the erring poet by mentioning various of his secular and pagan

begin and end each legend in the best manuscripts; cf. also *M. L. Prol.* 61. The relations and to some degree the personalities of Alcestis and Cupid recall strongly those of the Virgin Mary and Christ in many a piece of lower religious literature, such as exempla and pious tales (though also Venus and Cupid in Gower's *Conf. Am.* I, 93-202 and in other love-allegory). Chaucer and his auditors would be entirely conscious of this. The assimilation of love-motives to religious is not unusual; cf. Neilson, *Court of Love* (*Harv. Stud. and Notes*, pp. 137, 220-1), and, of course, Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. I add a few items to the liturgical reminiscences mentioned in *Modern Philology*, XIV. 268.

This was, and is, and yet men shal it see (*T. C. I.* 245),
That is, and was, and ever shal (*H. F.* 82),

seem to reflect the "Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper" of the *Gloria patri*. Boethius'

O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas
Terrarum caelique sator qui tempus ab ævo
Ire jubes (*III. M.* 9)

Chaucer renders, "O thou fader, creator of hevene and of erthes, that governest," etc. This seems to reflect the Apostles' Creed (not the Credo of the mass), "patrem omnipotentem, creatorem coeli et terrae."

poems which commend love, *The House of Fame*, *The Book of the Duchess*, *The Parliament of Fowls*, *Palamon and Arcite*,

And many an ympne for your halydayes,
That highten Balades, Roundels, Virelayes.

She continues,⁸

And, for to speke of other holynesse,
He hath in prose translated Boëce,
And mad the Lyf also of Seynt Cecyle;
He made also, goon sithen a greet whyle,
Origenes upon the Maudeleyne,

mentioning, that is, certain works distinctly religious and indeed Christian.⁹ Dr. Skeat explained "other holynesse" as "holy employment, religious composition." But it simply means "another religion." The word "holiness" became shopworn in the middle ages, and without entire obliteration of the sense "sanctitas," weakened to the sense of "piety" or "religion" in pretty much the modern senses, "religion" then having generally the more concrete meaning of religious observances or the clerical or monastic profession or life. The emphasis on the objective side of "holiness" is characteristic of medieval religion. Alceste carries on here the ecclesiastical conceit which adds so much charm and originality to the *Legend*. She shows first her protégé's devotion to Love's faith, then what he has done in honor of another religion. "Holiness" has almost always this specialized meaning in Chaucer, though not so recognized by the *Oxford Dictionary* and Skeat. Pagan heroines kept their virtue not for religious but for moral motives (*L. G. W. G-text*, 296-7):

And this thing was nat kept for holinesse,
But al for verray vertu and clenness;

the antithesis between "holinesse," and virtue and purity, is significant. Arcite's love for Emily is called by Palamon a feeling of devoutness (*K. T.* 1158), "affeccioun of holinesse." Those who

⁸ L. 424, in the earlier or Fairfax text.

⁹ Chaucer's *Boece* is Christianized; cf. e. g., note 7 above. The later text has here also another Christian work, the version of Innocent III's "Wretched Engendring of Mankind." But it has "besinesse" for "holynesse" above. The Globe edition has the correct interpretation of the passage.

find no relish in bawdry are invited to turn the page and find (*Mill. Prol.* 3179-80)

storial thing that toucheth gentillesse,
And eek moralitee and holinesse.

“Romance, morality and religion” pretty much sums up the more edifying of the *Canterbury Tales*. Sometimes the word contains the same slur as at times our word “pious,” as in the *Troilus*, I. 560 (“And bring our lusty folk to holinesse,” says Pandarus), and *Romance of the Rose*, 5755, 7011 (in the probably non-Chaucerian part). Other cases of the word doubtless in like senses are

these olde appreved stories,
Of holynesse, of regnes, of victories,
Of love, of hate, of other sondry thynges.
(*L. G. W.* 21-3)

The old rake January has a great appetite for matrimony, but (*Merch. T.* 1253-4)

Were it for hoolynesse or for dotage
I kan nat seye;

he believes it will promote comfort and piety,—(1628)

To lede in ese and hoolynesse his lyf;

and the priest who married him (1708)

made al siker ynogh with hoolynesse.¹⁰

Likewise “holy” often means simply religious. As to other authors, in *The Owl and the Nightingale* (ll. 900-2) the grim bird opines that the frivolous one sings only of lust,

for nis on þe non holinesse;
ne wened na man for þi pipinge,
þat eni preost in chirche singe.

Similarly, Abraham’s “treuth and halihede” (*Cursor Mundi*, 2330, 3401) means faith and piety. Just as in the *Merchant’s Tale*, 1708, in *Lazamon* (1820, 8049) “halinesse” means religious rites,—

¹⁰The exact feeling is less clear in *M. L. T.* 167, 713, *Pard. Prol.* 422, *Sec. N. Prol.* 97.

Brutus and his duzeðe
 Makeden halinesse, mid worscipen hezen;
 and þer ich wulle halinesse to mine goden halden;

it means devoutness in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, where the treacherous priests receive Paulina (I. 873-4)

With such a tokne of holinesse,
 As thogh thei syhen a godesse.¹¹

III. The Domestic "Our"

Among the men and beasts taking part in that Gilpin-like pursuit of the fox in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, according to the narrator (*N. P. T.* 4573),

Ran Colle our dog.

Whose dog? In browbeating her old husband by trying to put him in the wrong, the Wife of Bath used to say (*W. B. P.* 311),

What wenestow make an idiot of our dame?

The Wife means herself. Outside Chaucer such phrases are common, where there is no obvious reason for the first-personal pronoun. The lover in *Dame Siriz*, speaking to the lady about her husband, says (ll. 73-5),

Purstendai ich herde saie,—
 Of oure sire.

Noah's wife, in the Towneley play of Noah and the Ark, while chiding her husband, says women often wish their husbands dead, and

So wold I oure syre were.¹²

In a song against women,¹³ the poet says of them,

Some cheke mate with oure Sire.

William Colyngbourne's well-known political rhyme, on Richard III's three supporters Catesby, Ratcliffe and Lovel, runs—

The catte, the ratte, and Lovell our dogge
 Rulyth all Englande under a hogge.

¹¹ In *Conf. Am.* I, 831 and Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* (ed. Hearne, I, p. 331) the word probably means piety.

¹² L. 396, E. E. T. S., E. S., vol. 71.

¹³ Printed after *The Wright's Chaste Wife* (E. E. T. S. 1869), p. 23.

Skelton's Colin Clout, speaking of the nuns (with whom he has no special connection), says,

My lady nowe she ronnes,
 Dame Sybly our abbesse,
 Dame Dorothe and lady Besse,
 Dame Sare our pryoresse.¹⁴

In the ballad of Sir Cawline in Percy's *Reliques* (ll. 21-22), the impersonal narrator says,

And whan our parish-masse was done,
 Our kinge was bowne to dyne.

In *Gammer Gurton's Needle* the Gammer's gossip Dame Chat is said to know no more of the needle

Than knoeth Tom, our clarke, what the priest saith at masse;

this is in the prolog, no character speaking.

After these instances of the usage where there is no modern reason for the "our," we can recognize the same idiom in cases where the "our" seems less curious, but where sometimes we should use "the" or "your." In Chaucer's *Shipman's Tale* the teller calls the monk "our dere cosin" (1259); the monk calls the merchant, speaking to his wife, "our gode man" (1297), and calls the wife, speaking to the merchant, "our dame" (1546, 1553). The Wife of Bath exhorts one of her old husbands to take example by "Wilkin oure sheep" (*W. B. P.* 432). She calls her fifth husband "Jankin oure clerk" before she marries him (595; cf. 303), and "Jankin, that was our syre" after (713), and during their scrimmage knocks him into "our fyr" (793). The friar in the *Sumner's Tale* (1797, 2128) calls the goodwife, speaking to her husband, "our dame"; and she complains that her goodman (1829)

groneth lyk our boor, lyth in our sty.

In the *Franklin's Tale* (1204), at the end of the magic illusions at Orleans, the teller exclaims,

farewel! al our revel was ago.

¹⁴ *Colin Clout*, 392-395.

Likewise outside Chaucer's works. The earliest case I have remarked is in the *Ormulum* (l. 2827), where Elizabeth speaks of Zacharias as "ure preost." In the Middle English *Romance of the Rose* (6204), Fals Semblaunt has the phrase "Gibbe our cat"¹⁵ for any cat. In the Towneley Second Shepherd's Play (l. 159) the third shepherd grumbles at his master and mistress as "oure dame and oure syre." In the poem about the miseries of the voyage to Santiago called by Furnivall *The Pilgrims Sea-Voyage*, the impersonal narrator introduces the master of the ship with

Then commeth owre owner, lyke a lorde.¹⁶

A woman is "our dame" to her servant,—

Oure dameys peny let us not forgete,

and to her husband (even in an indirect quotation),—

To bye owre dame a penyworth of wytt.¹⁷

In *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (I. iii.) Hodge speaks to Tib herself of "Tib, our maid"; their mistress they call both "our dame" and "my gammer." The same idiom runs all through an impersonal poem in Wright's *Reliquiae Antiquae* (I. 4), beginning,

The fals fox camme unto owre croft.

This medieval colloquialism is evidently an extension of an ordinary possessive to cases where it involves taking the point of view of the person addressed, and finally becomes stereotyped, especially in "our dog," "our cat," and in "our sire" and "our dame" for the goodman and the goodwife of the household implied. Suggesting the intimacy of the household or parish, the Domestic "Our" has a curious racy savor of the narrow community life of the middle ages. Totally unlike "Our Lord" and "Our Lady," it suggests rather more the modern old-fashioned "our folks"¹⁸

¹⁵ This many-lived name and phrase for a cat reappears in Skelton's *Philip Sparrow*, ll. 27-8, and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, I, iii. Cf. also Ballad Society (privately printed, 1871, pp. 30, 32, 41), "owre gray catt," "oure syre," "our John."

¹⁶ L. 57, E. E. T. S., vol. 25.

¹⁷ *How a Merchant did his Wife Betray*, ll. 60, 63, in Ritson's *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry* (2nd edit.), p. 75.

¹⁸ "A term by which the whole family, including servants, cats and dogs, are alluded to" (*Dialect Notes*, IV, 48).

for the speaker's household, and an elderly gentleman's "how's our young man?" in speaking to a small boy. But it is neither jocular nor patronizing.¹⁰

Stanford University.

¹⁰In the romance of *Arthur and Merlin* (Altengl. Bibliothek) "our" is constantly used of the side the author sympathizes with. See ll. 6840, 6899, 6907, 6933, 8076, 8078, 8085, 8105, 8111, 8112, 8285, 9101. The Domestic "Our" sometimes merges with others, e. g., the partizan "our," or that of the old-fashioned novel ("our hero"). There may have been something of the stereotyped along with the obvious sense in the "oure hooste" in Chaucer's *Prolog*, 751, 823, and elsewhere in the *Canterbury Tales*. "Mine host" in later times has some of the stereotyped feeling. The Domestic "Our" is not recognized or illustrated in the *Oxford Dictionary*.

THE *TALE OF MELIBEUS* AND JOHN OF GAUNT

BY J. LESLIE HOTSON

Certain critics of the *Canterbury Tales*, otherwise friendly, have paused upon emerging from Chaucer's translation of *l'Histoire de Mélibée et dame Prudence* and looked back along its ample lengths without favor. Some confess that they perused it with no extreme pleasure; others are glad to be done with it; and still others, with Professor Ker, cry out upon its insufferable moralizing. But in recent years, I think, a change has made itself felt in this matter of morals and literature. The pendulum of taste, after an extreme recoil from the pinchbeck parables written to edify the Victorian young person, has swung back a bit more toward the normal.¹ Today, I feel sure, there is an increasing number of readers of Chaucer who, confronted with this *Tale of Melibeus* and its masterly brief for the case against war, read it for their own interest.

Yet, whether the great modern audience enjoys the tale, or not, is after all of little moment to Chaucer; or for that matter to his fellow pilgrims, who plainly liked the *Melibeus* as thoroughly as they disliked his "drasty ryming" of *Sir Thopas*. Chaucer presents the story as a "moral tale vertuous", familiar and acceptable to the company. He justifies the slight variations and additions in his version by the variety of the Gospels:

"For somme of hem seyn more, and somme lesse,
Whan they his pitous passioun expresse.
I mene of Mark and Mathew, Luk and John;
But doutelees hir sentence is al oon."

(2139-2142)

Therefore, he continues,

"thogh that I telle som-what more
Of proverbes than ye han herd bifore
Comprehended in this litel tretis here . . . (2145-7)
Blameth me nat. . ." (2151)

¹See Professor Tatlock's excellent discussion of the *Melibeus* in his *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (Chaucer Society, 1907), pp. 189-190.

And they do not. Harry Bailly, indeed, listens *arrectis auribus*; and when the tale is told, its picture of the exemplary and pacific wife stirs him to speak (more in the husband than in the host) from the depths of his heart:

“I hadde lever thanne a barel ale
That goode lief my wyf had herd this tale!” (3083-4)

Melibeus made a deep impression not only on our Host but also on Geoffrey Chaucer. This fact emerges unmistakably when the *Merchant's Tale* is compared to the “litel thing in prose”. Koepel's study² shows plainly enough that numerous passages in the *Merchant's Tale* are nothing but bits of *Melibeus* in verse. Professor Tatlock³ for the first time makes clear the further strong influence of *Melibeus* on the characters and on the plot of the *Merchant's Tale*.

Chaucer, then, is profoundly impressed with the *Melibeus*; and furthermore, on the pilgrimage he tells the tale himself. His evident partiality for it leads one to suspect some specific occasion for its composition: an occasion, perhaps, in which Chaucer was closely interested.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest that the *Melibeus* is a political tract, designed to dissuade John of Gaunt from launching on the invasion of Castile, in 1386.

§ 2

First, then, let us consider the relations of Chaucer with John of Gaunt. Chaucer was seventeen when he met the fourth son of Edward III, then Earl of Richmond, and laid the foundation for their friendship. Armitage-Smith, in his admirable life of Lancaster,⁴ says, “Before this the poet may have come under his notice in the King's household, but at the Christmas feast of 1357 they met in a more intimate manner, for both were staying at Hatfield in Yorkshire with Lionel, now Earl of Ulster in the right of his wife, Elizabeth de Burgh. Upon Chaucer's fortunes this meeting had a lasting effect, for the friendship of John of Gaunt secured to him the favour of the court so long as his patron lived. . . .”⁵

² Herrig, *Archiv.*, lxxxvi, 30-39. ³ *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁴ *John of Gaunt*, Sydney Armitage-Smith, London, 1904.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10; *Life Records of Chaucer* (Chaucer Soc.), p. 99.

They both set out on the great expedition to France in 1359-1360; and it was on this march, at Rethel, that Chaucer had the misfortune to be captured.⁶ About ten years afterward, 1369-1370, the poet wrote for his friend the *Book of the Duchess*, a tender memorial to the noble grace of the Lady Blanche, first wife of John of Gaunt; and at the death of Lancaster, thirty years later, this woman was still cherished in his thought.⁷

The Lady of the Court Philippa, whom Chaucer married, in all probability was the sister of Katharine Swynford, the third Duchess of John of Gaunt.⁸ On August 30, 1372, a pension of ten pounds a year was granted by the Duke of Lancaster to Philippa Chaucer;⁹ and in 1374 Geoffrey Chaucer received from the Duke ten pounds a year for life, in consideration of his own and his wife's services.¹⁰

These evidences, taken together, justify us in calling John of Gaunt a chief protector and friend of Chaucer.

§ 3

To understand the political situation in 1386, and the positions of Lancaster and Chaucer in that situation, we must retreat a bit in order to march into 1385 with the events.

We must examine first John of Gaunt's relation to the kingdom of Castile. In 1350 Pedro I, at the age of 16, came to the throne

⁶ *Life Records*, pp. 154, 265.

⁷ Compare the first clause in John of Gaunt's will:

"En primes jeo devise m'alme a Dieu et a sa tresdouce miere Sainte Marie et a le joy ciel, et mon corps a estre ensevelez en l'eglise cathedrale de Seint Poule de Londres, pres de l'autier principale de mesme l'esglise, juæte ma treschere jadys compaigne Blanch illeog's enterre."

Armitage-Smith, p. 420.

And, later, two obits; one for himself and one for Blanche: *"... en la suisdite esglise de Saint Poule deux obite, cest assavoir, pur m'alme un obit solempnement a celebrer chescune an le jour de mon trepassement, et pur l'ame de ma dite nadgaires compaigne Blanch un obit solempnement a celebrer chescun an le XII jour de septembr' a toutz jours."*

Ibid., p. 423.

⁸ *Life Records* 334: I, xvi f; li f.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 192.

of Castile and Leon.¹¹ The period was one of consolidation of gains in territory, and called for a firm central government. But feudalism was strong and stubborn. Pedro thought to crush opposition by frequent and well-chosen executions: he succeeded only in adding blood-feuds to existing anarchy and in alienating the Church. In 1366 Enrique of Trastamare, bastard half-brother to Pedro, bearing the sanction and aid of the Avignon Papacy, entered Spain at the head of a column of French mercenaries. He met with little resistance, and was crowned king. Pedro the Cruel, meantime, fled to the Black Prince at Bordeaux for help. Prince Edward, urged by policy as well as by a feeling for legitimacy in royal lines, asked England for support in taking up Pedro's cause. John of Gaunt, in England, voted for the war, and joined his brother in Aquitaine. Prince Edward advanced money to cover immediate expenses, and his brother Lancaster returned to England to gather men.

In February, 1367, Edward's army crossed the Pyrenees by the pass of Roncevalles; and on April 3 at Najera, with John of Gaunt commanding the vaward, the Black Prince defeated Enrique of Trastamare in a last and supreme victory. But Pedro did not keep his promises; indeed, he proved so egregiously perfidious that the English prince, bitter and revengeful, shook off the dust of Spain from under his feet. Its supports gone, the throne tottered to a fall. Pedro the Cruel was no match, two years later, for Enrique of Trastamare when the latter returned to the attack with Bertrand du Guesclin and a choice body of French men-at-arms at his back. At Montiel, March 13, 1369, the king was hopelessly routed. On the following day he was enticed from his refuge into du Guesclin's tent; "and there, with the aid of Olivier de Mauni, du Guesclin's cousin, Enrique of Trastamare stabbed his brother, the last monarch of the House of Burgundy."¹²

Now the keynote of John of Gaunt's life, like that of many an

¹¹ Armitage-Smith, p. 35.

¹² Armitage-Smith, p. 64.

Compare Chaucer's *tragedie*:

"And after, at a sege, by subtiltee
Thou were bitrayed, and lad unto his tente,
Wher-as he with his owene hand slow thee,
Succeding in thy regne and in thy rente."

De Petro Rege Ispannie, Monk's Tale, 3568-3572.

earlier Plantagenet, is a desire for Continental sovereignty. When he met Constance of Castile, heir of the murdered Pedro, he saw in her hand an opportunity to play for the great stake of a kingdom in Spain. He took it: and, two years after the death of the Duchess Blanche, the Duke of Lancaster married Constance, and assumed the royal style of Castile and Leon. From this time forward his mind was fixed on realizing his dream.¹³ As King of Castile he made an alliance with Portugal hostile to the Trastamare.

Until occasion should serve, however, he busied himself with military and diplomatic affairs for the English Government. In 1373 John of Gaunt led an ill-starred expedition into France. The ultra-Fabian tactics of the French allowed the warlike Englishman to ravage the country and to be ravaged by disease. This disaster increased the Duke's unpopularity in England, already great as a leading figure in an unpopular ministry. He was attacked in Parliament; and the revenge he took on the Commons and the Clergy did not add to their love for him.

After faithfully serving his nephew Richard II in difficult negotiations with France and Scotland for several years, John of Gaunt, with his eyes fixed on Spain, proposed to the Parliament of 1382 to borrow 60,000 pounds, on the security of his lands, in order to hire and equip an army for the conquest of Castile.¹⁴ Although he was by far the richest feudatory of the English Crown, the Commons hesitated to grant him the money, on account of the great financial embarrassment of the time. Lancaster argued in vain that England must support his brother, Edmund Plantagenet, who was at the moment in Portugal with a small force ready to attack Juan of Trastamare. The money was not forthcoming, and Edmund's expedition came back in ignominy.

Within a year, however, a new and vigorous Regent, João I. was elected in Portugal. He sent eloquent envoys to England forthwith, to collect men for a campaign against the illegitimate Castilian. John of Gaunt began again the work of persuading the Commons to lend him the gold he needed. His request was not granted until late in 1385. And even then, following the brilliant victory at Aljubarrota, when the Portuguese men-at-arms, stif-

¹³ Armitage-Smith, p. 100.

¹⁴ *Rot. Parl.* III, 114a.

fened by a body of English archers, had crushed the Castilian army, and the envoys had posted to England with the urgent appeal of "Now is the time to strike," and Lancaster had again laid his proposal before the House,—even then, in all probability, the Commons would not have voted the supply if the political enemies of John of Gaunt had not suddenly agreed with his friends that it was good that he go.

§ 4

The alignment of the parties in this intense and bitter period in England's political history has been most carefully studied by Armitage-Smith.¹⁵ Briefly, the parties were four in number. First, the Court party, composed of the King's young friends and favorites: its policy was for as much extravagance, strife, and headlong war as possible; and it numbered among its leaders the sinister figures of young de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham. The Right was held by an equally grim and unscrupulous opposition, led by the Earl of Arundel and supported by Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest brother of John of Gaunt. This party, because of the unthrifty rule of Richard, attracted not a few adherents among the people. Separating these adversaries, who were only too eager to come to a trial of strength, were two groups of moderates: the moderate Constitutionalists, and the Lancastrians. Richard Le Scrope and Michael de la Pole led the Constitutionalists; at the same time they were both retainers of John of Gaunt. Thus for the moment the two moderate parties worked together.

Lancaster's great influence was something of a White Elephant: he did not always know where to place it. Though naturally in sympathy with the Crown, he was estranged at court by the hostility of the young favorites. But if on that account he should fall into the opposition, he would forsake his principles, and, what was worse, be accused of aspiring to the throne himself.

In the colossal power of Lancaster each of the extreme parties saw a block to its ambitions. Each was afraid to move, for fear the other should suddenly gain that fatal support. What was to be done? At length a light broke on them, and the way out was

¹⁵ Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*.

clear: give John of Gaunt what he has desired for years, pack him off to Spain, and clear England's political decks for action.

Such a solution, of course, was no solution. England got rid of an enormous sum in gold, thousands of English soldiers, and ships which she could ill spare—to what end? Why, to be free to precipitate a bit of civil war!

§ 5

Lancaster's departure on his rash and ill-advised *vendetta* did not, however, please everyone. They who depended on his protection for their livelihood saw dark days ahead. Among those who suffered severely was Geoffrey Chaucer. When the Lancastrian cat was away, five lords, led by Thomas of Woodstock, forced themselves on the Government as a Regency. In the course of their "investigation" of the alleged abuses in the Customs service, they were probably responsible for the dismissal of Chaucer from his two positions on December 4 and 14, 1386.¹⁶

Two years passed. John of Gaunt was still in Spain; and in 1388 Chaucer was reduced to the wretched necessity of selling his pension of forty marks.¹⁷

Now in 1385, when the momentous step was being taken, Geoffrey Chaucer was neither fatuous nor blind: he must have foreseen the disaster which would inevitably follow John of Gaunt's plunge into private war. And he was not alone in this. Another good friend of Lancaster, Michael de la Pole, Lord Chancellor and retainer of the Duke, had stood for a solid peace with France in 1384; and in 1385, after the fiasco of the King's invasion of Scotland, "Pole was more than ever bent on peace."¹⁸ In a last effort to leave nothing untried which might keep Lancaster in England and so avert the impending strife, the few friends who saw straight may well have turned to Chaucer, the greatest English writer and close friend of the Duke, for aid; or Chaucer may have acted on his own initiative.

Whatever the origin of the project, Chaucer could have found no finer instrument ready to his hand than this excellent story of

¹⁶ *Rot. Parl.* III, 375; *Life Records*, I, xxv; 268-269.

¹⁷ *Life Records*, I, xxxvi; 272.

¹⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XVI, 30-31.

Melibeus,¹⁹ which was known to the Court circle²⁰ both in the Latin original of Albertano and in the more compact French re-working.²¹ In the first place, it was nearly a century and a half old: and sheer age lent no little force to a medieval treatise. Furthermore, it was of "hy sentence"; its morals and arguments were driven home with authorities venerable and cogent. Albertano's choice of authorities is interesting. Mr. Sundby points out²² that the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*, when it was written, was in advance of its time. "Medieval moralists," he says, "as Gautier de Lille in his *Moralium Dogma*, frequently composed their manuals almost exclusively from sayings of the ancients. Albertano has not done so; he very often quotes the Bible and Christian writers." There can be little doubt that, in an age of religious controversy, the *Melibeus*, with its many Biblical texts, carried great weight.

¹⁹ Excellent, that is to say, in the opinion of the Middle Ages. Lydgate, who was as good a judge of literary merit as any, mentions but three of the *Canterbury Tales*; and, first and foremost, the *Melibeus*:

"And some also of grete moralite,
Some of disporte, including grete sentence;
In prose he wrote the Tale of Melibe
And of his wife, that called was Prudence;
And of Grisildes perfitte pacience;
And how the Monke of stories new and olde
Piteous tragedies by the weye tolde."

—*Falls of Princes*, Lounsbury, *Studies* 1, 421.

²⁰ For the author apologizes:

"And thogh I nat the same wordes seye
As ye han herd. ." (2149-2150)

²¹ The Latin original, by Albertano of Brescia: *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*, was edited by Thor Sundby for the Chaucer Society, and was published in 1873. The French version is attributed either to Renaud de Louens or to Jean de Meun. One French text of *l'Histoire de Mélibée* has been edited in *Le Ménagier de Paris*, by Jérôme Pichon for La Société des Bibliophiles Français, Paris, 1846, in Vol. 1, pp. 186-235. "*Melibé et Prudence*, the French original of Chaucer's 'Tale of Melibe,' ed. from the MSS. by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin" has been announced since 1900 as in preparation for the Chaucer Society, but, so far as I know, has never been issued.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

John of Gaunt, moreover, is found to be as religious as any nobleman of his time. His "household breathes an atmosphere of conventional piety." "His confessors are among the most important officers of the household." "Conventional in all things, in none was he more conventional than in his religious practice. . . ." ²³ Furthermore, he never questioned accepted doctrine. At his hands, then, such a work, translated by such a man, would be sure to receive a sober hearing, no matter how bent he was on carrying out his purpose.

But, besides a powerful body of moral argument, Chaucer must have found in the *Melibeus*, a document almost incredibly well fitted in innumerable details to the present case of John of Gaunt. We must keep in mind that no allegory is introduced into the tale by Chaucer. He had but to translate the thing as it stood, changing no essential, and the Duke could not fail to see, as in a mirror, himself as *Melibeus* and his own better sense (or perhaps that of Katharine Swynford) as the allegorical *dame Prudence*.

And "for the more declaracioun, lo here the figure":

§ 6

Melibeus

(1) "A yong man called Melibeus,"
(2156)

John of Gaunt

(1) In 1385 John of Gaunt was 45 years of age: no longer to be called "yong" except in complimentary language. Once before, however, Chaucer had perhaps delicately under-estimated the Duke's age.²⁴ But whether he did or not, we cannot suppose that the adjective would be a serious rub in the way of understanding the application of the story.

²³ Armitage-Smith, pp. 177, 178, 180.

²⁴ "In the *Book of the Duchess* (l. 455) Chaucer gives the age of John of Gaunt as 'four and twenty' instead of nine and twenty as it should have been. This has been explained, it is true, as a possible error of xxiiij for xxviii by the loss of v in copying. Yet such an explanation has always seemed to me less likely than that Chaucer was purposely flattering the young prince by an understatement of his age."

—O. F. Emerson, *Chaucer's Testimony as to His Age*, *Modern Philology*, xi, 125.

(2) "mighty and riche," (2156)

(2) The Duke of Lancaster was the richest and most powerful subject of Edward III and of Richard II.²⁸

(3) "bigat upon his wyf that was called Prudence, a doghter which that was called Sophie." (2156)

(3) So far as we know, Chaucer named the daughter of Melibeus. She was anonymous in both the Latin original and the French version. The name carries, perhaps, a politic reminder to the impatient Duke that Wisdom is born of Prudence.

(4) "... he ... is went into the feeldes. ... (2157) Three of hise old foos han it espyed ... and by the windowes been entred, and betten his wyf, and wounded his doghter with fyve mortal woundes in fyve sundry places; this is to seyn, in hir feet, in hir handes, in hir eres, in hir nose, and in hir mouth,²⁹ and leften hir for deed, and wenten away." (2158-2161)

(4) This, of course, is allegory, and would be taken in two senses. Three old foes of John of Gaunt (Enrique, du Guesclin, and Mauni) in 1369³⁰ had murdered Pedro of Castile. The other group of three enemies, as familiar to John as to every son of the Church, is spiritual, and is described later in the tale: "the three enemies of mankinde, that is to seyn, the flessch, the feend, and the world, thou hast suffred hem to entre into thyn herte wilfully by the windowes of thy body, and hast nat defended thyself suffisantly agayns hir assautes and hir temptaciouns, so that they han wounded thy soule in fyve places; this is to seyn, the deedly sinnes that been entred into thyn herte by thy fyve wittes."³¹ (2610-2614)

²⁸ Armitage-Smith, Chapter 10.

²⁹ The French text, which Chaucer here follows, departs from the original Latin, which has: "videlicet in oculis, auribus, ore et naso ac manibus."

—Albertano, *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*, p. 2.

³¹ Chaucer describes them in heraldic cant:

(5) Three enemies injured Melibeus through the wrong done to his wife and daughter. (2159-2162)

(5) Three enemies²⁰ injured John of Gaunt, in that they injured Constance, whom he later married; and by usurpation kept the one daughter from the throne.

(6) "When Melibeus retourned was into his hous, and saugh al this meschief, he lyk a mad man, rending his clothes, gan to wepe and crye." (2162)

Aljubarrota was won on August 14, 1385,²¹ and ambassadors sped to England.

(6) While they were urging the Duke to act on his opportunity, the Duchess and her daughter fell on their knees before John of Gaunt, and after passionately begging him to avenge the murder and claim his right, burst into tears and wept.²²

Prudence strives to quiet his bitter weeping (2163-87); but he protests, "trewely myn herte is troubled with this sorwe so greuously, that I noot what to done."

"... thy brother . . . with his owene hand slow thee. .
The feeld of snow, with th'egle of blak therinne,
Caught with the lym-rod, coloured as the glede,
He brew this cursednes and al this sinne.
The 'wiqked nest' was werker of this nede."

—*Monk's Tale*, 3568, 3571, 3573-3576.

²⁰ Compare John of Gaunt's Will: "*Item jeo devise entier pur arde entour mon corps le jour de ma sepulture . . cink cierges grosses en l'onur des oink plaies principalz n're seigneur Jesu, et pur mes synk soens lesquels j'ay multz negligentment despendie, dounte je prie a Dieu de mercy.*"

—Armitage-Smith, p. 421.

²¹ There is still another group of three enemies in the war against Spain which may have suggested itself to John of Gaunt. It is described in a Latin poem of Walter of Peterborough, a monk in Lancaster's household:

"uNam tres contra tres inierunt praelia fratres,
Per multas matres causa fuere patres,
vTres stupro geniti, reliqui tres lege mariti,
Illicitis liciti tres tribus oppositi."

And the gloss: "*uPrinceps E., duw J., et rex P., contra tres bastardos; duo, scilicet, princeps et duw, fratres fuerunt genere, et tertius, scilicet Petrus, frater fuit foedere eis.*"

"vHoc dicitur pro Aldefonso, qui praeter uxorem tenuit concubinas, de quibus genuit . . ('tres bastardos')." —Wright, *Pol. Poems*, I, 101. Rolls Series.

²² Armitage-Smith, p. 298.

²³ "O duque outhorgava com o que elle dizia, mas por os feitos da casa

(7) " 'Lat calle,' quod Prudence, 'thy trewe freendes alle, and thy linage which that been wyse; talleth your cas, and herkneth what they seye in conseiling, and you governe after hir sentence.' Thanne, by the conseil of his wyf Prudence, this Melibeus

(8) leet callen a greet congregation of folk; as (9) surgiens and phisiciens, old folk and yonge; and (10) somme of hise olde enemies reconsiled as by hir semblaunt into his love and into his grace; and therwithal

(7) Thereupon Parliament was called to consider John of Gaunt's proposal. It was summoned by writ dated September 3, and sat from October 20 to December 6, 1385.²²

(8) Parliament contained, of its 250 and more members, (9) archbishops and bishops, old men and young men, and (10) some reconciled enemies of John of Gaunt.²³

de Inglaterra, em que até então fôra occupado, se escusava de o não poder fazer, e fallando em estas razões, a duqueza se fincou em giolhos ante elle com a infanta Dona Catharina, sua filha, e começou a dizer:

—'Senhor, de quantas boas andanças vos deu Deus n'este mundo em vossas guerras e trabalhos por os feitos alheios, parece-me que mais razão seria trabalhardes vós por vossa honra, e por cobrar herança é minha e de vossa filha, de que estamos desherdados, ca o reino de Castella a mim pertence de direito, e não aos filhos do trédor bastardo que matou meu padre, como não devia.'

E em dizendo esto, choravam ambas, a filha e madre."

—F. Lopes, *Chronica d'El-Rei D. João I*, v, 83.

²² *Rot. Parl.* III, 203-14.

²³ The year before, in the Salisbury Parliament, a clumsy plot had been hatched by the Court party, led by de Vere and Mowbray, to accuse Lancaster of treason and thus get rid of him. The plot came within an ace of succeeding. (Higden, *Polychronicon* IX, 33-40; Armitage-Smith, 282-287.)

Not in the least dashed, the favorites put forth another and a more desperate effort, this time with the probable connivance of the King. In February, 1385, the second plot, which was to seize the Duke and execute him on a trumped-up charge of treason, leaked out. Lancaster let the King know in no uncertain terms his opinion of the favorites, and warned him that he would not attend Richard while the latter surrounded his person with would-be murderers. In March, however, Princess Joan contrived to bring about an apparent reconciliation between her son and her brother-in-law. (Higden, IX, 55-59; Monk of Evesham, 60; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* II, 126.)

Once more, and this only a short time before Parliament was summoned, while their invasion of Scotland was on, de Vere fanned the fire afresh between Richard and his uncle. The King accused Lancaster of treason;

(11) ther comen somme of hisa neighebores that diden him reverence more for drede than for love, as it happeth oft." (2190-2195)

(11) If, applying this to the Parliament of 1385, we consider Lancaster's position and that of his feudatories, officers, and retainers who were also Members,²⁴ and his wide-spread unpopularity, "Ther nedeth make of this noon argument; The verray preve sheweth it in dede."

(12) "Ther comen also ful many subtil flatereres, and wyse advocats lerned in the lawe." (2196)

(12) Compare the Latin-English poem *On the Times*,²⁵ 1388: "Rowners and flatreres" *hi regno sunt nocituri.*"

intervention by the nobles was necessary to bring the two to a semblance of concord. (Higden, ix, 63-65; Walsingham, ii, 131-2; *Eulogium Hist.*, 358; Knighton, ii, 204-206; Froissart (ed. Kervyn), x, 376-405.)

²⁴ A thorough detailed comparison of the Members for 1385 (*A Return of Every Member of Parliament*, 1878) with the *Register of John of Gaunt* (ed. Armitage-Smith, Camden Soc., 1911) shows the following identities:

Parliament: (1) Thomas Fychet, *miles*, Somerset co.; (2) John Paulet (1382 "Raulyn", 1384 "Poleyn", 1387 "Pole"), Devon co.; (3) Johannes Mautravers, *miles*, Dorset co.; (4) Willielmus Heyberere, Gloucester co.; (5) Willielmus Pappeworth, *chivaler*, Huntingdon co.;

Listed as *retainers* in *John of Gaunt's Register*: (1) Thomas Fichet, *chivaler*, (document no.) 845; (2) John de la Pole (see *Index*); (3) John Mautravers (Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 444); (4) William Haybere, *esquire*, 812; (5) William de N. de Pappesworth, *esquire*, 486.

William Gambon (Cambridge co.) was Constable of Knaresboro Castle, belonging to Lancaster, 13, 40, 272, etc.; Robert Ursewyk (Lancaster co.), held an office in John of Gaunt's forests of Quernemore and Aumondernesse, 1564; Willielmus de Adderly (Derby co.) was a tenant of the Duke, 143, 1793; Hugh de Calvely (Rutland) often fought under Lancaster's banner, 45, 51, 915, etc.; William de Melton (York is entered on the Duke's payroll, 31 March 1372, for 65 pounds, 10 shillings, 169; John de Annesley, *chivaler*, (Notts), William Crook (Gloucester borough), Thomas Saleman (Surrey), Thomas Graa (York city), and John Colvyll, *chivaler* (Cambridge co.), were employed by John of Gaunt in August, 1372, 49, 50; John Dyn (Cinque Ports) held a chapel of the Duke, 1789.

The *Register* has been published only in part, covering the years 1372-1375. We may infer that the entries for the ten unpublished years following would yield many more "neighebores" of John of Gaunt who sat in the Parliament of 1385.

²⁵ Wright, *Political Poems*, i, 271. ²⁶ And Chaucer's apostrophe:

"Allas! ye lordes, many a fals flatour

(13) "And whan this folk to-gidre assembled weren, this Melibeus in sorweful wyse shewed hem his cas; and by the manere of his speche it semed that in herte he bar a cruel ire, redy to done vengeance upon hise foos, and sodelynly desyred that werre sholde biginne; but natheles yet axed he hir conseil upon this matere." (2199)

(13) It is not difficult to visualize the scene when John of Gaunt laid his case before Parliament, nor to see the desire for incontinent war written on his face. The parallel here is very close.

In 1385, which fell during the Great Schism, Clement of Avignon was for the Trastamare, while Urban supported Portugal. Urban conferred on John of Gaunt the title "Standard Bearer of the Cross" against Juan of Castile.²⁷

(14) "A surgien, by license and assent of swiche as weren wyse, up roos and unto Melibeus seyde as ye may here.

"'Sir,' quod he, 'as to us surgiens aperteneth, that we do to every wight the beste that we can . . . and to our patients that we do no damage. Wherefore unto our art it is nat pertinent to norice werre, ne parties to support. . . .' (2201-2203) Almost right in the same wyse the phisiciens answerden, save that they seyden a fewe wordes more: 'That, right as maladyes been cured by hir contraries, right so shul men warisshe werre by vengeance.'" (2205-2206)

(14) The Clergy, who in the procedure of Parliament spoke first, would naturally style themselves the spiritual ministers of both sides in a quarrel, and disclaim all desire for war. But in 1385 they let it be known unmistakably that war, in this cause, was right. They made John of Gaunt's expedition a crusade.

"The secular arm seconded the efforts of the Church, and in every county of England the sheriffs, by royal mandate, published the Bull promising absolution to all who directly or indirectly should further the expedition of the Duke for the succour, help, and comfort of the Holy Mother Church against the schismatic usurper of Castile."²⁸

Is in your courtes, and many a losengeour,
That pleseth yow wel more, by my feith,
Than he that soothfastnesse unto yow seith.
Redeth Ecclesiaste of flaterye;
Beth war, ye lordes, of hir trecherye."

(B. 4515-4520)

²⁷ Armitage-Smith, 304; *Papal Letters*, iv, 264-265.

²⁸ Armitage-Smith, 305. Cf. *Foedera*, vii, 507-8.

(15) "An advocat that was wys" is the next spokesman. He shows the danger of going to war too hastily, and advises Melibeus, on behalf of his group, thus: "' that right anon thou do thy diligence in keping of thy propre persone, in swich a wyse that thou wante noon espye ne wacche, thy body for to save. And after that we conseilte that in thyn hous thou sette sufficient garnisoun, so that they may as wel thy body as thyn hous defende.

' But certes for to moeve werre or sodeynly for to doon vengeance, we may nat demen in so litel tyme that it were profitable.' " (2215-2217)

(16) "Up stirten thanne the yonge folk at-ones, and the moste partie of that companye han scorned the olde wyse men, and bigonnen to make noyse, and seyden: that, right so as whyl that iren is hoot, men sholden smyte, right so, men sholden wreken hir wronges whyle that they been fresshe and newe; and with loud voys they cryden, 'werre! werre!'" (2224-2225)

(15) In the case of the "advocat" we have no means of *knowing* whether there was a close parallel or not. But a shrewd guess is possible.²² That part of the moderate or Lancastrian party which could see the Duke's best advantage would be the last to consent to the war. The sudden support given by Lancaster's bitter enemies to his dear project must have seemed a Greek gift to the cooler heads among his followers. Those friends who knew of the two attempts on the Duke's life—and who did not?—would advise him to guard his body and his castles against attack. It was highly unsafe to leave the terrain free for action by his adversaries.

(16) The young Court party, the King's favorites, were, as we have already seen, anxious for war with Spain as a means of getting rid of Lancaster.

²² Richard Le Scrope, another retainer of Lancaster (1380-1384), called by Bishop Stubbs "the Duke's friend and honest adviser" (*Const. Hist.* II, 489), was one of the two great leaders of the moderate party. He was 58 years of age (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* XVII, 1080) in 1385, and had twice been Chancellor of England (1378-80, 1381-82). He was son of Sir Henry Le Scrope, chief justice of the King's Bench, and is described by the Monk of Evesham as "*Legum Doctor*" (*Vit. et Regn. Ricardi II*, p. 71). He would undoubtedly be a spokesman in the Parliamentary debate of 1385, and we are not entirely uncertain as to what the tenor of his advice in this case would be.

(17) "Up roos tho oon of thise olde wyse . . . (2226) 'Lordinges,' quod he, 'ther is ful many a man that cryeth "werre! werre!" that woot ful litel what werre amounteth. . . .' (2227)

"And when this olde man wende to enforcen his tale by resons, wel ny alle at-ones bigonne they to ryse for to breken his tale, and beden him ful ofte his wordes for to abregge. (2232)

"And whan this wyse man saugh that him wanted audience, al shamefast he sette him doun agayn. . . . (2235)

"'I see wel,' quod this wyse man, '. . . that good conseil wanteth whan it is most nede.'" (2237)

(18) "Whan Melibeus hadde herd that the gretteste partie of his conseil weren accorded that he sholde maken werre, anon he consented to hir conseilling, and fully affermed hir sentence.

"Thanne dame Prudence, whan she saugh hir tyme, seide him thise wordes: 'My lord,' quod she, 'I yow biseche as hertely as I dar and can, ne haste yow nat to faste, and for alle guerdons as yeveth me audience.'" (2239-2241)

The rest of the tale is masterly persuasion conducted by Prudence: she is respectful but cogent. She

(17) Michael de la Pole, Lord Chancellor of England, was 55 years of age in 1385. He was a retainer of John of Gaunt, and at the same time, with Arundel, was counsellor in constant attendance on the King and governor of his person. Of course, a moderate and a retainer of Lancaster in this intimate connection with the King was *persona non grata* to the King's young favorites.

"His attachment to the court involved him in a growing unpopularity, both with the great barons and with the people. . . ." "In the Parliament of 1384, Pole wisely urged the need of a solid peace with France; but the Commons, who were anxious enough to end the war, were not prepared to purchase peace at a high price, and Pole's proposal was ill received. . . ."

"After the failure of this undertaking (the invasion of Scotland in 1385) Pole was more than ever bent on peace."^a

(18) In spite of the few who spoke for peace, Parliament ratified Lancaster's proposal: "*Et sciendum quod dictum viagium dicti Regis Castelli in Ispannium concordatum fuit et concessum per dominum regem, prelatos, procures, magnates, et communitates predictas in pleno Parlamento.*"^a

Lancaster set about his preparations; but at least seven months elapsed between Parliament's grant and the departure of his fleet from Plymouth. It was during this period that attempts must have been made to dissuade him.

^a *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XVI, 30-31.

^a *Rot. Parl.* III, 204b.

disposes at once of every objection that her noble lord raises, by quoting impeccable authority; and everywhere seasons her formal argument with sound advice. That "greet congregation of folk," for example, was a tactical blunder: if he needs counsel—as every man does—let him resort to his true friends discreet and wise, and not to flatterers or enemies.

(19) "'Thou shalt also have in suspect the conseilling of wikked folk. For the book seith, 'the conseilling of wikked folk is alwey ful of fraude.' And David seith, 'blisful is that man that hath not folwed the conseilling of shrewes.' Thou shalt also eschewe the conseilling of yong folk; for hir conseil is nat rype.'" (2386-88)

(20) At this point (2388), in translating, Chaucer silently omitted a passage in his original which deplores the state of a country which has a boy for a king: "De quoy Salemon dit: dolente est la terre qui a un enfant à seigneur! Et le philosophe dit que nous n'eslisons pas les jeunes en princes,

In February, 1385, as we have seen, after Lancaster had been forewarned against the attempt of the sinister young nobles upon his life, he went by night with a strong guard to the King at Sheen.

(19) Entering, armed, in sufficiently hard and bitter terms he rebuked his royal nephew for having about him such wicked counsellors; and closed with a word of advice: to remove those men to a safer distance, and to adhere to more healthy counsel."

Eight months later, in Parliament, John of Gaunt did exactly what he had advised his nephew not to do; he listened to the counsel of the unscrupulous favorites, simply because that counsel now fell in with his own wishes.

(20) As Professor Tatlock has well argued,⁴ this omission is a plain bit of evidence that the work was translated during the young years of Richard II; and while preferring to place the *Melibeus* later, (in 1388-1394), he admitted that "The fit would have been particularly exact, of course, in the *middle*

⁴ "Demum loricated ingressus est cum paucis ad regem qui ut decuit facta debita veneratione satis dure et aspere est eum primitus allocutus, increpans eum quod tamdiu tam malos consiliarios secum retinuit; finaliter ipsum consulens tales ab eo penitus amovere ac de cetero viris sanioris consilii adhaerere."—Higden ix, 57.

⁴ *Development and Chronology*, p. 192.

car communément ils n'ont point de prudence; et dit encores Salemon: dolente est la terre de quoy le prince ne se liève matin!"⁴⁴

Dame Prudence, continuing her sage conseil, advises Melibeus to be sure that he can carry through his project before he enters upon it:

(21) "'Ne no wight sholde take upon hym so hevy a charge that he mighte nat bere it. For the proverbe seith: 'he that to much embraceth, distreyneth lited'." (2403-2404)

Chaucer's translation, with the few exceptions already noted, and one or two others of no apparent significance, is, on the whole, very close. In line 2497, however, he departs in a curious particular from both the Latin and the French texts:

(22) The Latin has "*Custodias te ab omnibus extraneis et ignotis.*"⁴⁵ And the French, in like manner, "*tu te dois garder de toutes gens estranges et mesconnus.*"⁴⁶ But Chaucer has translated, "thane shul ye kepe yow fro alle straunge folk and fro lyers."

⁴⁴ *Le Ménagier de Paris*, 202.

⁴⁵ *Hist. Angl.*, II, 97.

⁴⁶ Armitage-Smith, p. 118; and cf. Chaucer's *Proverbe*:

"Of al this world the wyde compas
Hit wol nat in myn armes tweyne:

Who so mochel wol embrace

Litel therof he shal distreyne." *Min. Poems*, XX.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

eighties" (italics mine). Walsingham, who had none of the courtier's inhibitions, includes the same words of Solomon, "*Vae terrae cujus rex puer est,*" under date of 1383,⁴⁹ in reference to Richard.

In 1385-6, which is the date we have assumed for the composition of the *Melibeus*, Richard was eighteen years old, still a minor, and Chaucer held office under him.

(21) The keynote of Lancaster's foreign policy from 1374 to 1386 was peace with France and division of England's enemies, following the motto, "*Qui trop embrasse mal étreint.*"⁵⁰ If John of Gaunt read the *Melibeus* in 1385, this passage cast his own principle in his teeth, just as he was on the point of abandoning it.

(22) Two foreigners at this time were doing their best to influence John of Gaunt. The Grand Master of St. James and the Chancellor Lourenço Fogaca had come from Portugal eighteen months before. Taking up quarters in London, from that time forward they assiduously

Why should Chaucer go out of his way to change "strangers and unknown" into "strangers and liars"? Unless his manuscript differed from the original and from our French translation, we must suppose that he was thinking of certain foreigners whom he regarded as members of the international Ananias club.

recruited English volunteers for the Spanish war, and waited for the opportunity to push John of Gaunt into the conflict.* It came with the news of the great victory of Aljubarrota. Thereupon, as we have seen, they made their representations to the Duke more urgent and attractive. We may believe that the tale of the victory and of Lancaster's golden opportunity lost nothing in the telling. Remember the superbly indiscreet epigram credited to Sir Henry Wotton: "An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country." (Walton's *Life*.)

(23) Another small change may be significant: "'And certes, as to the firste poynt, it is wel knowen whiche folk been they that consenteden to your hastif wilfulnesse; for trewely, all tho that conseilleden yow to maken sodeyn werre *ne been nat your freendes*.'" (2552-53)

(23) "Ne been nat your freendes" is in neither the *Albertano* nor the *Ménagier*. In the latter, the part represented by Chaucer's line 2553 is a dependent clause.

If these words are an interpolation of Chaucer's, as they seem to be, they fall in with our hypothesis: that Chaucer was urging John of Gaunt to listen to his true friends, and not to foolish or interested counsellors.

Melibeus, though extremely wealthy, is a lonely man: "'Lat us now considere whiche been they, that ye holde so greetly your freendes as to your persone. For al-be-it so that ye be mighty and riche, ye ne been nat but allone. (2554-2555)

(24) 'For certes, ye ne han no child but a doghter.'" (2556) *Albertano* has for this passage: "Non enim habes filios masculos" (p. 77); and the *Ménagier* text: "tu . . . n'as nul enfant masle; tu n'as

(24) Any person of tact, addressing the Duke of Lancaster, would not care to remind him of John, his only son by Constance of Castile, who had died in infancy; leaving his father with but one daughter,

* Armitage-Smith, 298 f.

fors une seule fille. . . ." (p. 211). Chaucer departs from the Latin and the French versions in suppressing the direct reference to the lack of a son or heir male.

(25) "'ne ye ne han bretheren ne cousins germayns ne noon other neigh kinrede, wherfore that your enemies, for drede, sholde stinte to plede with you or to destroye your persone.' " (2557-2558)

(26) By appealing both to his caution and to his sense of law and order, Prudence brings Melibeus to see that private war is ill-advised as well as wrong:

"'If ye wol thanne take vengeance of your enemys, ye shul retourne or have your recours to the juge that hath the jurisdiccion upon hem; and he shal punisse hem as the law requireth.' " (2631-2632)

(27) Prudence assures Melibeus further that war under any circumstances is stupid: "'It is a woodnesse a man to stryve with a

Catharine, to carry on his claim to the throne of Castile."⁹⁰

(25) We have read of attempts on John of Gaunt's life. In each case he met them himself. None of his relatives, apparently, stood up for him, or took an efficient interest in protecting his life. Certainly neither of his precious brothers did anything to avert the danger. Edmund, Duke of York, was practically a cipher. He counted for nothing, either for offense or defense, in the politics of the day; while Thomas of Woodstock, fifteen years younger than Lancaster, was his bitter political enemy, and injured his interests as much as he could while Gaunt was in Spain.

In 1385, Lancaster's one son (by the Duchess Blanche), Henry Bolingbroke, was still a boy of 19: not as yet a power to be dreaded.

(26) Of John of Gaunt's regard for law in the matter of private disputes, Armitage-Smith says: "The innumerable pardons for homicide registered on the Patent Rolls show how easily men passed from a word to a blow, and how often their quarrels proved fatal. A man of power like John Holland could defy the law; but though the Duke of Lancaster, if any one, stood above the law, he used his vast power with a rare restraint." (p. 416)

(27) Any man not blinded by ambition would have seen that the Spanish expedition was Quixotic and futile. The Trastamare had

⁹⁰ Armitage-Smith, p. 94.

strenger or a more mighty man than he is himself; and for to stryve with a man of evene strengthe. . . . it is peril; and for to stryve with a weyker man, it is folie.'” (2670-2673)

(28) No less than eight times in the course of the translation, we find the pronoun of the second person singular, when it refers to Melibeus, replaced by “*thy persone*,” often making a stilted structure:

“‘For bettre it were that thy children aske of *thy persone* thinges that hem nedeth’ (2249); ‘the maistrie and lordshipe over *your persone*’ (2270); ‘For certes, he maketh thilke feyned humilitee more for his profit than for any love of *thy persone*’ (2377); ‘whiche been they, that ye holde so greetly your freendes as to *your persone*’ (neither the French nor the Latin has this last phrase at all) (2558); ‘Yet dwellen ther ynowe to wreken hir deeth and to slee *thy persone*’ (2562); ‘if ye wole considere the defautes that been in *your owene persone*’ (2683); ‘for the grete goodnesse and debonairetee that all the world witnesseth of *your persone*’ (3009); (And at this point we find such phrases as ‘agayn your heigh lordshipe’ (3007); ‘your gracious lordshipe’ (3010); ‘your heigh lordshipe’ (3015), none of which is to be found in either the French or the Latin texts.

“His chronicler, a Spaniard, admits the fact: “é ovo dello muy grand enojo: ca temia mucho la guerra, por quanto avia grand mengua de Gentes de armas en el su Regno, ca les mas é mejores Capitanes avia perdido en la guerra de Portugal de pestilencia é de batallas.”—Ayala, II, 252.

ruled Spain for sixteen years, and were established beyond a doubt. Even though Juan of Trastamare was weaker than Lancaster and frankly afraid to fight²¹ it was manifest folly to think, even if he were pushed to the Spanish throne by Portuguese men-at-arms, that he could long keep his seat.

(28) What are we to think of this substitution? If Chaucer did not derive these repeated expressions from his original, he had some end to serve in making the changes. That end may, of course, have been merely to improve the story by making Prudence’s address to Melibeus more formal and dignified; but in the face of all the evidence, it seems more probable that Chaucer had a more definite purpose: to fit the language to the dignity and lofty estate of the man to whom it was probably addressed—“John of Gaunt, King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicesters, Seneschal of England.”

Prudence conquers Melibeus in the end. She seeks out his enemies, speaks mild words to them; and at her request they come, humble and contrite, before Melibeus. "And whan they were comen to the presence of Melibee, he seyde hem thise wordes: 'it standeth thus, . . . and sooth it is, that ye, causeless, and withouten skile and resoun, han doon grete injuries and wronges to me and to my wyf Prudence, and to my doghter also. For ye han entred in-to myn hous by violence,"⁵² and have doon swich outrage, that alle men knowen wel that ye have deserved the deeth.'"

But at length Prudence carries the last stronghold of his revengeful spirit: he is touched by the repentance of his enemies, and forgives them: "'Therefore I receyve you to my grace, and foryeve yow al outrely alle the offences, injuries, and wronges, that ye have doon agayn me and myne . . . that god of his endelees mercy wole at the tyme of our dying foryeven us our giltes . . . and bringen us to his blisse that never hath ende. Amen.'"

§ 7

To recapitulate the steps in this investigation: We know that Chaucer's protector, John of Gaunt, was preparing in 1385 to enter on a rash war to recover a heritage and to avenge a private wrong. In doing so, he followed the advice of his political enemies, as well as his own inclination, against the dictates of prudence.

We also know that when the protecting influence of Lancaster was gone, Geoffrey Chaucer lost his employments, and was reduced to wretched financial straits.

Now at some time or other, Chaucer translated, on the whole very faithfully, a highly persuasive treatise against private war. It resembles political writing far more closely than any other of his extant works, with the possible exception of *Truth: a balade de bon conseyl* (in which Chaucer gives personal political advice to his friend Sir Philip La Vache). It fits, with startling exactness, many known details of John of Gaunt's case in 1385.⁵³

⁵² It is hardly necessary to point out again that the Trastamare had by violence entered into the estate of the House of Burgundy and by the outrage had wronged Constance of Castile, and later, her husband Lancaster and her daughter.

⁵³ *Melibeus* contains warnings against assassination. Such passages, which Chaucer found in his original, would be pertinent in the case of John of Gaunt. Chaucer knew from experience the dangers to which the unpopular Duke was exposed. Armitage-Smith says: "Five times in ten years he was threatened with assassination. Putting aside the conspiracy of the Spaniards who tried to poison him at the close of his invasion of

(1) Prudence advises Melibeus: 'ne tak no company by the weye of a straunge man, but-if so be that thou have knowe him of a lenger tyme. And if so be that he falle in-to thy company paraventure withouten thy assent, enquere thanne, as subtilly as thou mayst, of his conversation and of his lyf bifore, and feyne thy weye.' (2498-2500) 'Yet shaltou drede to been empoisoned.' (2518)

(2) Again: "Thanne shul ye evermore counterwayte *embusshe-ments*'

(3) 'and all *espiaille*' (2507)

(1) On his invasion of Spain, John of Gaunt was joined on the road by a stranger, who tried to poison him: "Andando el-rei e o duque n'aquella conquista que ouvistes, vindo um dia á tornada, entre Camora e Touto, . . . juntaram-se uma vez gentes de cavallo, . . . e d'entre os castellãos sahiu um homem de cavallo, correndo quanto podia por se lançar com os portugueses. . . . E apresentado disse que elle vinha a elles como seus senhores. . . . O duque e sua mulher quando esto ouviram, contarão-l'ho por gran bondade, . . . traziam-n'o em boa conta segundo deus eguaes; e elle vinha por lhes dar peçonha. . . ."—Lopes, V, 177.

(2) And on his return from Spain: "Si est vray que jauoye mise une *embusche* pour tuer le duc de Lancastre qui est la assis."—*Chron. Trais. et Mort*, p. 16.

"For you, my noble Lord of Lancaster,
The honorable father to my foe,
Once I did lay an *ambush* for your life. . . ."

—*Richard II*, II, 1.

(3) "Et outre ceo, les ditz Mesfours et Tretours ordeigneront, qe bon *Espie* serroit fait sur la Arryville de Monsr de Lancastre, & q'il serroit arestuz maintenant sur sa arryville."—*Rot. Parl.* III, 234a.

We have some evidence as to the date of this work. An obvious echo of a line from the *Troilus* appears in it. Also it has been shown to have exercised powerful influence on the *Merchant's Tale*.

1387, there remain four distinct plots against the Duke's life hatched in England between 1384 and 1394." (p. 416.) Chaucer was anything but a prophet; still it is interesting to see how well the warnings which he translated from his original were justified by later events.

These facts, with attendant probabilities, narrow the period of possible composition of the *Melibeus* to the decade 1380-1390. Furthermore, the significant suppression of the passage "Vae terrae cujus rex puer est" points definitely to the *middle eighties*.

There is strong reason, then, in the face of this evidence, to believe that Chaucer did not acquiesce supinely in the move which was to cost him so dear; that he did the best that a great author and humble friend could do, in such a crisis, for a proud nobleman: that is, he translated the *Tale of Melibeus* in the winter of 1385-1386, and quietly presented it to the Duke as his latest piece of work.

If the inferences drawn in this paper are sound, the *Melibeus* takes on a new and profound importance for the life of Chaucer. It reconstitutes a critical part of his biography, and sheds light on him as a participant in the momentous debates and decisions of 1385,—showing the many-sided Chaucer writing in a new *genre*: the political pamphlet.

Harvard University.

THE WEST SAXON AND KENTISH FIRST PERSON SINGULAR PRESENT INDICATIVE ENDING -E

BY W. F. BRYAN

The ending -e of the first person singular present indicative, which is characteristic of West Saxon and Kentish texts of Old English, is generally considered to be an analogical introduction.¹ The usual explanation is that this -e was extended into the present indicative from the present optative—thus, for instance, Streitberg, Sievers, Wright.² Dieter, however, has proposed³ -e of the second and third person singular present indicative -es(t), -eð as an additional probable source of -e in the first person. I wish to present some evidence, hitherto unconsidered so far as I know, in support of the origin suggested by Dieter.

The evidence is of course inferential. Both the earlier present optative ending -æ from Germanic -ai and the earlier -i of the second and third persons indicative -is(t), -ið had become -e before the date of any surviving West Saxon or Kentish documents that contain first person singular indicative forms. Nor are there any abnormal forms in early West Saxon texts that throw light on the problem; except for a single *ne cweðo ic*, the ending of the first

¹ Kluge alone, so far as I know, holds differently. In his "Geschichte der englischen Sprache," *Grundriss*², p. 1067, he states: "Im Westsächsischen herrscht früh -e (*bīnde, hýre*), das an *a* in aslov. *berq* erinnert."

² Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik* [Heidelberg, 1896], p. 320: "Der gewöhnliche ae. Ausgang westsächs. -e ist wohl vom optativ übernommen." Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, 3te Auflage, [Halle, 1898], p. 189: "In den südlichen dialekten ist sie [the original ending *u, o*] dagegen so frühzeitig durch die optativ-endung verdrängt worden, dass diese für das ws. und kent. als die normalform zu betrachten ist." Wright, *Old English Grammar* [Oxford, 1908], p. 239: "The Anglian dialect mostly preserved the *u(o)*, but in early WS. and Ken. its place was taken by -e from the pres. subjunctive."

³ *Laut- und Formenlehre der altgermanischen Dialekte* [Leipzig, 1900], p. 87: "Awests. meist *e* (wohl durch angleichung an die 2. 3. pers. sing. auf -est, -eð, und an den optativ auf -e) dafür [for proper *u(o)*] eingetreten ist."

person is consistently -e in the Alfredian material.⁴ The late Northumbrian texts, however, illustrate very strikingly the manner in which the vowels of personal endings were confused and transferred in a dialect the grammar of which was not thoroughly conventionalized. These Northumbrian texts show an unmistakable tendency to carry the vowel of the second and third persons singular into the first person; they thus exemplify in this dialect precisely the kind of extension suggested by Dieter for West Saxon and Kentish.

This tendency is perhaps most obvious in the *Lindisfarne Gloss*.⁵

In this, as in the other late Northumbrian texts, the earlier conjugational system is in process of disintegration, and in consequence there is great confusion of flexional vowels, e and a being frequently interchanged. There is, however, still clearly evident a strong feeling for the earlier distribution of -e in strong verbs and in those of Class I weak in the second and third persons singular, and of -a in Class II weak verbs. For strong and Class I weak verbs the figures are 756 -es(t), -eð and 293 -as(t), -að; for Class II weak 53 -es(t), -eð and 201 -as(t), -að. The present optative—singular and plural are indistinguishable in form—of strong and Class I weak verbs ends 207 times in -e and 96 in -a; that of Class II weak 15 times in -e and 34 in -a. In the first person present indicative the endings of strong and class I weak verbs are 336-o, 1-u, 17-e and 13-a; in Class II weak 15-o, 1-e, and 16-a. The especially significant forms in this tabulation are those of Class II weak verbs. In the first person of the indicative, -a belonging properly to the second and third persons has supplanted the normal ending -o in half the total occurrences. It might be contended that this first person -a did not come from the second and third -as(t), -að, but was merely an extension of the optative ending, which in much the greater number of cases also appeared as -a. But the fact that in the first person of the indicative -e occurs only once as compared with 16 instances of -a, whereas in the optative -e occurs as often as 15 times compared with 34 instances of -a discredits this contention; so negligible a pro-

⁴ P. J. Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, 2te Hälfte, [Haag, 1886], pp. 122, 143 ff., 152 ff., 181.

⁵ See Theodor Kolbe: *Die Konjugation der Lindisfarner Evangelien*, Bonner Studien zur englischen Philologie, V [Bonn, 1912], pp. 107 ff.

portion of first person indicative forms in *-e* could hardly have existed with so large a proportion of optatives in *-e* if the indicative ending were merely an extension of the optative. Kolbe,⁶ following Sievers, is inclined to regard as optatives the first person forms in *-e* belonging to strong verbs—and I infer those of Class I weak as well—or, following Carpenter,⁷ as weakened from *-o* in unstressed position. The suggestion that these forms are optatives apparently is not due to any syntactic consideration but is merely an attempt to explain exceptional occurrences. I consider that both the forms in *-e* and those in *-a* resulted from an extension of the vowel of the second and third persons into the first—of precisely the same kind as the obvious extension pointed out in weak verbs of Class II. It is possible that in the spoken dialect of the date of *Lindisfarne* the unstressed vowels had weakened to a neutral sound represented in writing by *e*, but it is unnecessary to invoke such a weakening in order to explain the first person forms in *-e*.

In the *Durham Ritual*⁸ the situation is in general very much the same as in *Lindisfarne*, though the extension from the second and third persons is less strikingly obvious. The endings of these persons in strong and Class I weak verbs are 67 *-es(t)*, *-eð*, and 15 *-as(t)*, *-að*; in Class II weak Lindelöf has recorded 50 forms in *-as(t)*, *-að* (there are apparently other occurrences of *gigladas*), and only 6 forms in *-es(t)*, *-eð*. Though Lindelöf has made no effort to record all the present optative forms and it is thus impossible to make any accurate comparison of *-e* and *-a* endings, it is clear that in strong verbs and those of Class I weak *-e* greatly preponderates, and that in Class II weak *-a* is several times as numerous as *-e*. In the first person singular present indicative of strong and Class I weak verbs 15 occurrences of *-o* are cited; there are also 5 forms in *-e*, 4 of which Lindelöf thinks may have been misconstrued by the glosser as optatives, and 1 in *-a* which he thinks may have been similarly misconstrued. In weak verbs of Class II the first person ending “in der Mehrzahl der Fälle” appears as *-o(-igo)*. Of this ending 7 instances are recorded with apparently

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁷ H. C. A. Carpenter, *Deklination in der nordhumbrischen Evangelienübersetzung der Lindisfarner HS.*, Bonner Studien zur englischen Philologie, II [Bonn, 1910].

⁸ See Uno Lindelöf, *Die Sprache des Rituals von Durham* [Helsingfors, 1890], pp. 72-76.

other occurrences of *halsigo*; the number of forms in -a is 3—a high proportion of the whole; and there is 1 ending in -e. In the *Ritual* as in *Lindisfarne* there is thus a manifest tendency in Class II weak verbs to carry the vowel of the second and third persons into the first. The first person forms in -e and -a which occur in strong and Class I weak verbs and which Lindelöf thinks may have been misconstrued as optatives are probably, I think, merely similar extensions.

The third Northumbrian text is *Rushworth*², the Northumbrian portion of the gloss to the gospels contained in the Rushworth MS.⁹ In this text strong and Class I weak verbs in the second and third persons singular end about 494 times in -es(t), -eð and about 65 times in -as(t), að; Class II weak verbs end 83 times in -as(t), -að, and only 3 times in -es, -eð. In the present optative, strong verbs end about 100 times in -e, once (singular) in -a, and once (plural) in -o and Class I weak verbs end without exception in -e; in Class II weak verbs, together with 8 singular and 7 plural optatives in -e, there are 4 plurals in -a. In the first person singular present indicative, strong and Class I weak verbs end about 265 times in -o, 6 in -u, 9 in -e, and once in -a;¹⁰ whereas in weak verbs of Class II the first person ends in -o 18 or 19 times, in -e not at all, and in -a 3 times—again a considerable proportion. The significance of the facts that in the first person indicative -e occurs only in strong and Class I weak verbs, in which -es(t), -eð is eight times as frequent in the second and third persons as is -as(t), -að; that in Class II weak, in which the second and third persons in -as(t), -að are twenty times as numerous as those in -es(t), -eð, the ending of the first person in a considerable proportion of the total occurrences is -a; and that in this same Class II weak, whereas the optative in four-fifths of the total occurrences ends in -e (exclusively so in the singular), the first person does not show a single instance of this characteristic optative ending—the significance of these facts as to the displacement of the original first person singular indicative ending not by that of the optative

⁹ See Uno Lindelöf, *Die Südnordhumbrische Mundart des 10. Jahrhunderts; die Sprache der sog. Glosse Rushworth*², Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik X [Bonn, 1901], pp. 128 ff.

¹⁰ The only first person in -a is *forleta*, which also has -as twice in the second and third persons.

but by the vowel of the second and third persons of the indicative is, I think, inescapable.

The evidence of each of the three Northumbrian texts thus points in the same direction. In all three combined, in the second and third persons singular the earlier and normal distribution of *-e* in strong and Class I weak verbs and of *-a* in Class II weak verbs is preserved in about four-fifths of the total number of instances. In the first person, *-o* is the usual ending of all verbs. But, besides *-o*, the first person of strong and Class I weak verbs ends 31 times in *-e* and 15 times in *-a*; Class II weak verbs end 22 times in *-a* and only 2 times in *-e*. The fact that these endings are thus distributed clearly indicates in this dialect a trend toward the formation of new first person endings by extending the vowel of the second and third persons singular indicative into the first person. In all classes of verbs this tendency is strongly indicated; in Class II weak verbs it is obvious and unmistakable.

The same kind of extension as that I have pointed out in Northumbrian gave, I believe, the first person singular indicative ending *-e* in West Saxon and Kentish. Northumbrian shows unmistakably in Class II weak verbs a tendency to supplant the normal *-o* of the first person by *-a* from the second and third, and, to a much less degree, in strong and Class I weak verbs to carry the vowel of the second and third person endings into the first person. The stronger tendency to extend *-a* may have been furthered by the analogy of the normal plural *-að* of all verbs. In West Saxon and Kentish I believe that when the earlier *-u(o)* of the first person present indicative disappeared or was supplanted in strong and Class I weak verbs, the new ending was merely an extension of the vowel of the second and third persons—precisely as in the Northumbrian texts considered in this paper the ending of the first person in Class II weak verbs was in process of being supplanted. When in West Saxon and Kentish this new ending had once established itself in strong and Class I weak verbs, by a natural functional analogy it was extended to Class II weak verbs as well. This process of extension may well have been aided by the analogy of the optative ending after both the earlier optative *-æ* and the earlier indicative *-i* had become *-e*, but actual evidence of this influence of the optative is not found in Old English texts of any dialect. On the other hand, in a period of unstable grammatical forms, the Northum-

brian texts appear to show clearly both an absence of tendency to carry the optative ending into the first person of the indicative,¹¹ and a strong tendency to extend the vowel of the second and third persons singular indicative into the first person.

Northwestern University.

¹¹ Note especially the forms in *Lindisfarne*, p. 454 above, and in *Rushworth*², p. 456 above.

BIBLIOGRAFIA DI DEMONOLOGIA DANTESCA

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN

["The imagination of Dante," says Chateaubriand, "exhausted by nine circles of torment, has made simply an atrocious monster of Satan, locked up in the centre of the earth." Dis is not as important and as imposing a character in the *Inferno*, as Satan is in *Paradise Lost*, Mephistopheles in *Faust* or Lucifer in *Cain*. He has been almost wholly eclipsed in our interest by his younger and grander *confrères*. The light of literary criticism has rarely succeeded in penetrating to the very bottom of the bottomless pit where Dis is presiding, in the midst of his court of traitors, over eternal torment. Even David Masson in his learned essay *Three Devils* (1844) believed he could well afford to overlook Dis with impunity. The Dante bibliographies pass over him in silence. It is, however, to be hoped that a little of the glory of the Florentine poet, whose Sexcentenary is now celebrated, may be reflected upon his diabolical creation. To this aim a brief list of critical studies on the Dantean Devil has been compiled.]

Federico Persico: *Il posto dei diavoli nell' Inferno di Dante*. Atti della reale Accademia di scienze morali e politiche. Società reale di Napoli. Toma XXXIV (1903), pp. 437-56.

Joseph Spencer Kennard: *The Fallen God and other essays in literature and art*. Philadelphia, 1901.

(Lucifer in Dante's *Inferno*, pp. 33-50.)

Translated into Italian under the title: *Il dio caduto*. Firenze 1904.

G. S. Ferrari: *Lucifero in Dante e in alcuni altri poeti*. *La Rivista europea*. *Rivista internazionale*. Firenze. Toma XXVI (1881), pp. 611-35.

A Trio of Fiends. *Cornhill's Magazine*. London. Vol. LX (1889), pp. 264-75.

(Lucifer in Dante's *Inferno*, pp. 65-68.)

Maximilian J. Rudwin: *Dante's Devil*. *The Open Court*. Vol. XXXV, September, 1921.

Edward Henry Pember: *On the Conception and Treatment of Satan in Paradise Lost and Inferno*. London, 1909. (In: *Milton Memorial Lectures 1908*, pp. 59-82.)

Arturo Graf: *La demonologia di Dante*. (In Volume 2 of his: *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del Medio evo*.) Torino 1892-93.

P. Ravaggi: *L'idealità spirituale in Dante, Milton, Klopstock, Goethe*. Firenze 1903.

Jules Pacheu: *La Psychologie des mystiques chrétiens. Les Faits: le poème de la conscience. Dante et les mystiques*. Paris 1909.

(Lucifer in Dante's *Inferno*, pp. 176-89.)

Maximilian J. Rudwin: Dante's Journey to Hell. The Open Court. Vol. XXXV, September, 1921.

Hugo Daffner: Gleichartige Strafen in Dantes Hölle und in geistlichen Legenden. Eine Anregung. Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch. 5. Band 1920.

W. Hoffner (= Dilthey): Satan in der christlichen Poesie. Westermanns Monatshefte. Illustrierte deutsche Zeitschrift für das gesamte deutsche Leben der Gegenwart. 5 Jahrgang (1860) S. 321-29, S. 434-39.

(Lucifer in Dante's *Inferno*, pp. 322-24.)

Ferdinando Gabotto: Il diavolo nella letteratura. Gazzetta letteraria. Toma VII (1883) No. 31.

Adolf Kahle: Der Teufel in der Poesie. Die Gegenwart. Wochenschrift für Literatur, Kunst und öffentliches Leben. 49. Band (1896) Nr. 12-13 S. 182-84, S. 199-201.

(Lucifer in Dante's *Inferno*, p. 183.)

Arthur F. Agard: Poetic Personifications of Evil. Poet Lore. A Quarterly Magazine of Letters. Vol. IX (1897), pp. 206-16.

H. Landsberg: Der Teufel in der Dichtung. Sonntagsbeilage Nr. 22 zur Vossischen Zeitung vom 31. Mai 1908.

Harry Pressfield: The Devil In Literature. The Bookman. Vol. LII (1920), pp. 254-55.

Swarthmore College.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVI, 1919

	PAGE
Morris W. Croll. The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose	1
George R. Coffman. The Miracle Play in England—Some Records of Presentation, and Notes on Preserved Plays	56
Dudley Miles. A Forgotten Hit: "The Nonjuror".....	67
A. H. R. Fairchild. Robert Bloomfield.....	78
A. G. H. Spiers. An Ill-Advised Criticism of "Cyrano de Bergerac".....	102
Sturgis E. Leavitt. Paul Scarron and English Travesty..	108
Editorial	121
Hanford, James Holly. Milton and the Return to Humanism	126
Thompson, Elbert N. S. Milton's Knowledge of Geography	148
Gilbert, Allan H. The Cambridge Manuscript and Milton's Plans for an Epic.....	172
Cook, Albert Stanburrough. Four Notes.....	177
Thaler, Alwin. Playwright's Benefits, and "Interior Gath- ering" in the Elizabethan Theatre.....	187
Powell, W. L. The Castle of the Body.....	197
Recent Literature.....	206
Cross, Tom Peete. Witchcraft in North Carolina.....	217
Adams, Joseph Quincy. The Bones of Ben Jonson.....	289
Beatty, Joseph M. The Political Satires of Charles Churchill	303
G. Kenneth G. Henry. Roman Actors.....	334

252

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.

A fine is incurred by retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

MAR 2 1965 H

546-550

SEP 13 1965 H

CANCELLED
744 88

CANCELLED
NOV 13 1965 H

CANCELLED
820-404

OCT 18 '66 H

1216-352

SEP 25 1967 H

1634-903

CANCELLED
HALL USE
CANCELL
ALL USE
STAFF STUDY
CHARGE

Widener Library



3 2044 098 641 632